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*No man who hath fasted learning but will confess the many ways o,
profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manag
and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dis.
and riders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish
and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utter
ly to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

NO. CXVII.

ART. I.—NOTES ON THE LOST RIVER OF THE INDIAN DESERT.

THE large blank space marked "Great Desert," in the north-west of the map of India, is probably familiar to most people. Some, however, may not be aware that a considerable portion of this tract was once cultivated and prosperous, studded with towns and villages, and inhabited by powerful tribes.

No doubt a great part of the desert has undergone little change since pre-historic times. Its ancient name of *Mart-thal* (region of death) proves this. But, with regard to the lands of Nair and Kadal—the *Ramala* of the Arab geographers—the truth of the legends which assert their ancient fertility is attested by the ruins which everywhere over-spread what is now an arid, sandy waste.

In confirmation of the local traditions which ascribe the depopulation of this once flourishing country to the drying up of the stream by which it was fertilized, the dry bed of a large river may still be traced from near the *Himálaya*, through *Bhar-tiána*, *Bikanir* and *Bhawalpur*, into *Sindh*; and thence onwards to the *Rann of Kach* (*Runn of Cutch*).

This old channel, which is more than six hundred miles in length, is known in different parts of its course as *Naryal*, *Sotra*, *Hakra*, *Wahind*, *Dahan*, &c. The names *Sotra*, *Hakra* and *Wahind* are those most generally used, the others being more local.

In Kiepert's map of Ancient India,* the *Sotra* or *Hakra* is represented by a dotted line as a continuation of the *Gaggar*; and as joining the *Indus* a little below *Uchh*. The true position of the channel is, however, forty miles south of that city; and it is plainly traceable onwards into *Sindh*.

Major-General Cunningham, R.E., has, in his *Ancient Geography of India*, laid down the course of the *Hakra* correctly from longitude 74° to longitude 70° (Maps V, VI and IX) as *Nend*.

* In illustration of Prof. Lassen's *Indian Antiquities*.

neither the Gaggar nor the Chitraug flowed further than they do at present. Indeed, as already observed, it is impossible from the nature and area of their collecting ground, that the course of these streams can ever have extended to any considerable distance beyond its present limits.

Since, then, these rivers could not have furnished it, whence came the great volume of water which once made its way down this broad channel to the sea? Between the Jamna and the Satlej, there is no opening by which a large river could have entered the plains. There is no sign of the former having carried off the waters of the Hakra; but in the case of the latter, there is evidence of changes quite sufficient to explain the transformation of a once fertile region into a desert.

There can be no doubt that the Satlej, instead of turning nearly due west from Rupal to join the Bías, as at present, originally flowed in a much more southerly direction; and that the Sotra or Hakra is its ancient bed.

One of the hymns of the Rig Veda (33rd of third Mandala) has been considered to allude to a junction of the Satlej and Bías at a very remote period. The Rishi Viswamitra is represented as fording, with a wagon and chariot, a stream called Chhutudri and the Vipas, near their confluence.

That one of the rivers mentioned in this passage was the Bías is evident, but that the other was the Satlej is more than doubtful.

There is nothing in the context to show that the latter river is alluded to.

Elsewhere in the Rig Veda, as well as in the Nirukta, the name given to the Satlej is S'utudri, which in the Mahábhárata and later writings is rendered Sátadri; but the stream here referred to as joining the Vipas is called Chhutudri. This name is applied to the river not only in the hymn itself, but also in the Nirukta, and by the comparatively modern commentator Sayana, without any remark to show that the S'utudri is indicated.

Again, the rivers are described as rushing from the sides of the mountains; the scene must, therefore, have been near the foot of the Himálayas and very far from any possible point of junction between the Satlej and Bías.

Further, the Bías is addressed in the hymn as by far the most important of the two streams and is called "the broad and beautiful Vipas," no such epithet being bestowed upon the Chhutudri, although, had the latter been the Satlej, its volume must have been nearly twice as great as that of the Bías.

It appears most probable that the Chhutudri was not the Satlej, but the river now known as the Chukki, which joins the Bías shortly after that stream enters the plains; and which is remarkable for the rapidity with which it rises and again subsides.

Variations in the names of the rivers are generally carefully noted in the Nirukta; thus we learn that the Bīyās acquired the name Vipasa after and in consequence of the attempted suicide of Vasishṭa. Previously, the river was called Uranjira and Arjikia.* From Uranjira was possibly derived the Saranges of Arrian; the ancient name of the Vipasa being mistaken for a separate stream. This is the more likely, as the Saranges appears to have no modern representative, the position of the Sohan, to which the name has been applied, not agreeing at all with Arrian's description.

It is probable that the legend related in the Mahābhārata, of the Satlej having separated into a hundred channels when Vasishṭa threw himself into it, was founded upon some great change in its course.

That the Bīyās and Satlej ever mingled their waters, previous to the thirteenth century, is opposed to the traditions current throughout the tract between these rivers and the Saraswatī; which agree that, until this period, the Satlej flowed in the Hakra channel.

These legends are strongly supported by the physical aspect of the country; while they are confirmed by the fact that several of the old river-beds, which combine to form the Hakra, have been traced to within so short a distance of the Satlej that they could not have belonged to any other stream.

Between the Saraswatī and the Garrah is a series of broad channels, most of them a mile or more in width, of which those to the west terminate in the valley of the latter river; while those towards the east, which are the most ancient, are continuous with the Sotra or Hakra. All diverge from the direction of the point at which the Satlej leaves the hills.

Most of these old river-beds are now dry, or only contain a little water in the rainy season. They are all more or less obliterated in the upper part of their course, so that only the comparatively recent ones can be actually traced to the banks of the Satlej, but most of them can be followed up to within a few miles of that stream.

Of the channels continuous with the Hakra, the westernmost which is known as Naiwal, was found by Lieutenant (now Colonel) Hodgson, R.E., † in 1847, to be clearly defined at the village of Urkara, about twenty miles south-west of Ludīānah, and half that distance from the old left bank of the present Satlej. It has since been traced some miles further towards the north-east.

Near Shekopura, about half-way between Urkara and the

* Original Sanskrit Texts, I, 417; † Report on Proposed Tehara Canal.

river, are two more channels similar to that just mentioned, one of which branches off from the other. Both of these turn towards the west, enter the valley of the Báyás and Satlej, and become continuous with the old course of the latter stream known as Dhund-i-Daria, which will be referred to presently.

Thus, the most westerly arm of the Hakra and the easternmost of the old beds of the Satlej traceable to the Báyás valley are, although partially obliterated by time, still definable to within five or six miles of each other, and this in a level plain. There can be little doubt that these deserted channels diverged in succession from the same point; and that, although they separate so widely, the same stream at different times flowed in each of them.

From Urkara the Naiwal may be traced, in a south-westerly direction, to Abohar, which is situated upon its banks; and thence to Kurrulwála (latitude $29^{\circ} 53'$, longitude $73^{\circ} 53'$) where it is joined by another similar river-bed, from the eastward, which bears the same name. The people of the country assert that each of these in turn was the bed of the Satlej; and that the eastern branch came from near Machewara, an ancient town, twenty miles from the point at which that river enters the plains.

The celebrated fortress of Bhattinda is situated upon the Naiwal last mentioned. This is no doubt the river-bed referred to by Mr. Davidson, Settlement Officer of the Ludhiáná district, in 1851, as extending from the southward of Machewara to near Tulwundi (fifty miles north-east of Bhattinda) and thence onwards to the south-west.

At Kurrulwála, where these two channels of the Naiwal unite, they become continuous with the western arm of the Sotra or Hakra, which, passing by Tartarsir and Ganesgharh to Bullur on the borders of Bikanér and Bháwalpur, there joins the eastern or Bhatnair branch. This, a still older course of the river, is formed by the junction of several broad channels known as Naiwal, War or Wab, Purána Daria or Gaggar, Chitrang, &c.

Each of the three first of these is said to have been in turn the bed of the Satlej. This has been confirmed so far that, during the surveys for the Sirhind canal, the Naiwal has been traced to Chumkour, close to the old high bank of the Satlej, and five miles from its present course. This place is ten miles from Rugar where the river enters the plains, and about the same distance from the town of Machewara already referred to.

The Chitrang was converted into an irrigation canal by Fírúz Sháh in the fourteenth century. The Wab, which receives the torrent known as Sirhind-nallah, was also in the same reign

utilized as a canal; the Sirsa torrent being turned into it through a great cutting, traces of which still remain near Rupar. The same channel was long afterwards connected with the Satlej by Mirza Kundi. The Naiwal is dry.

In the old river-bed now known as Gaggar, flows the stream of that name, the waters of which, however, although supplemented by those of the Sarsuti, are exhausted before they reach the junction with the other branches of the Hakra. According to tradition, this, as already mentioned, was originally the bed of the Satlej. It is continuous, near Munak, with the Purána Daria (ancient river), a broad channel which is unconnected with any of the streams flowing from the neighbouring hills; and which has been traced in the direction of Sirhind and Rupar, to within a few miles of the Wah just referred to.

It would appear that when the Satlej changed its course to the westward, the Gaggar torrent, previously a tributary, was left in possession of the deserted channel.

The Gaggar must originally have been of much less importance than it is at present, for the Sarsuti (Saraswatí) which now falls into it above Munak, formerly flowed much further south, and joined the old channel just mentioned below the famous fortress of Sarsuti (now called Sirsa), which was built upon its banks in the sixth century.

By the change just alluded to, the course of the Sarsuti was shortened nearly one hundred miles; and the Gaggar became the principal river of the country, giving its own name, as far as its waters reached, to the old bed of the Satlej in which it continued to flow.

The foregoing accounts for the absence of all mention in the Vedas or Mahábhárata of any such river as the Gaggar, or indeed of any important stream, between the Satadru (Satlej) and the Saraswatí. Of the five rivers so frequently named between the Indus and the sacred stream, the Satadru is always alluded to as nearest to the latter.

All this is confirmed in the strongest manner by the fact already mentioned, that, between the Sarsuti and the Satlej, there is no opening in the hills by which a large river could have entered the plains.

The disappearance of the Saraswatí is readily explained by the changes just alluded to; for that river, no longer able to reach the Satlej, which had forsaken its ancient course, necessarily lost itself in the sands of the deserted channel until, as already explained, in later times it joined the Gaggar above Munak.

The Saraswatí is always described in the Rig Veda as a flowing stream; and nothing is there said of its disappearance in the sand, as afterwards alluded to in the Mahábhárata and by Mánu. Nor

is there in the Veda any hint of the mythical subterranean course referred to in the *Raghuvansa*, and since extended by the *Bráhmaṇṣ* to the Trivení near Alláhábád.

It is possible that the *Saraswatí* once flowed still further south, and joined the *Chitrang*, but of such a course no vestige now remains.

About A.H. 757 (A.D. 1357) Sultán Fírúz Sháh converted the old bed of the *Saraswatí* into an irrigation canal, by which he brought the waters of the *Gaggar* to *Sarsuti*, and thence to the "rivulet of *Khera* (*Hakra*?), upon which he built a city named after him *Ferozábád*.* This *Fírúzábád* was built upon the channel now called *Gaggar*, which, therefore, is identical with the so-called "rivulet of *Khera*."

The upper part of the *Hakra* is called *Sotra* or *Sutra*, which is probably a corruption of *Sutodra* or *Sutudri*, the old name of the *Satlej*.

Hakra appears to be a modified form of *Sagara*, the letter *S* being pronounced like *H* in *Rájputána* and in *Sindh*.

The old beds of the *Satlej*, referred to, are more or less obliterated in their upper part, by the process of silting-up; which, from the constant abrasion of the mountains, and the very much heavier rainfall, is far more active in the sub-Himálayan tract than in the dry and level plains.

The current of the *Satlej* is rapid, especially where it first leaves the hills, and the soil through which it flows is light and sandy, the stream has therefore cut deeply into it. Owing to this, and to the effects of the silting-up process just alluded to, the present bed of the river is much below the level of these old channels. This difference is, for the reasons already given, most marked near the Himálayas, and it diminishes very considerably further south.

The result of the same processes of erosion on one hand, and silting-up on the other, may be seen in the difference of level between that part of the old bed of the *Biyás* which is dry, and the portion in which the combined rivers have been flowing for less than a century.

To the effects of the ordinary changes in the bed of the *Satlej*, already alluded to, must be added those produced by the cataclysm of A.D. 1762, when the river was dammed up for some weeks by a landslide in the hills, and, as mentioned by Major-General Cuninghame, its waters rose to a height of four hundred feet before the barrier gave way.

The general slope of the country intersected by these old river-beds is from the north and east, towards the south and west; in which direction the changes referred to have taken place.

* *Erishia*, Dow's Ed. I. 306.

neighbourhood of Uchh. It falls into the sea in the country of Kambaya (Cambay).”* This account, taken from some ancient work, evidently refers to the Satlej. This river had, long before the time of Háfiz Abru, joined the Báyás, by which name the united streams were known. Hence the confusion.

The Emperor Timur says that, on his making enquiry when in Kashmír, as to the course of the Panjáb rivers, he was told that, “when this river (Jhelam) passes out of the confines of Kashmír, it is named after each city by which it flows, as the river of Dandana, the river of Jamd. The river passes on and joins the Chenáb above Multán. The united waters pass below Multán and there join the Rávi. The river Báyás comes down through another part and joins them, and the united rivers fall into the Sindh or Panjáb; and this river falls into the Persian Gulf near Thatta.”† Here, as elsewhere, the Satlej is unmentioned; and the “Panjáb” is the Indus below the confluence with the Chenáb.

Perishta mentions the Nilab (Sindh) as “one of the five capital branches of the Indus.”‡

From this evidence it seems clear that the Satlej was not one of the rivers forming the Panjnad; that it lost its name on flowing into the Báyás; and that, previous to its junction with that stream, it was not one of the tributaries of the Indus. All this shows the correctness of the conclusions already arrived at, viz., that the Sotra or Hakra was the bed of the Satlej and that its drying-up was owing to its waters having become diverted into the Báyás valley.

From the junction of its eastern and western arms near Bullur, on the frontiers of Bikanír and Bháwalpur, the Hakra traverses the latter state; where it loses the name of Sotra and acquires that of Wahind (river of Hind).

Near Khángarh on the Sindh border, as already mentioned, the channel turns southward; and, about thirty miles south-east of Rhori, it becomes continuous with the old river-bed marked in maps of Sindh as Eastern Narra. The Narra or Nala which also bears the names of Hakra Dhora (old bed of Hakra), Wahind and Dahan, is to be traced from this point southward, past Amarkot, to the Rann of Kach. According to a tradition current on the borders of Bikanír, the waters of the Hakra at a place called Kak, south of the Mer country, spread out into a great lake. This was, no doubt, the Rann.§

* Elliot, IV, 4.

† *Ibid*, III, 476.

‡ Dow, I, 139.

§ A people called Kakshas, dwelling by the sea shore, mentioned in

the Mahábhárata, are identified by Professor H. H. Wilson with the inhabitants of Kach.—Vishnu Purána, II, 170.

On the borders of the Rann, the Narra meets the Dhora Purán (ancient channel), the dry bed of what was once the eastern and greater branch of the Mihran or Indus. It is not difficult to understand the formation of the Rann if it be considered as the former embouchure of three important rivers (the Indus, Satelej, and Luni) of which the two first and greatest have long since abandoned it. The traditions of all the tribes bordering upon it, agree that this expanse of salt and sand was anciently an estuary. And as noticed by Burnes,* and still more recently by Sir B. Frere, places are yet pointed out upon its shores which once were ports.

In the Rann we may also recognise the great lake at the mouth of the eastern arm of the Indus, described by Arrian, who says :

"When he (Alexander) had sailed far down the left branch and was near the mouth thereof, he came to a certain lake formed either by the river spreading wide over a flat country, or by additional streams flowing in from the adjacent lands, making it appear like a bay of the sea. Abundance of sea fish are found there, of a much larger size than our seas produce. Steering to a creek to which his pilots directed him, he left there Leonatus with many of the soldiers and all the long galleys; but he, with some biremes and triremes, passed out at the mouth of the river and sailed into the ocean."

"He afterwards made another voyage to the lake, where he ordered a harbour to be made, with other places for the safety of ships."†

This estuary, too, is evidently identical with the lake of Ságara in which, according to the Chach-námeh, the fleet of Muhammad Kásim anchored;‡ and also with the lake Ash Sharki, upon which, Al Biladuri says the fleet of Jaishya, son of Dahir, king of Sindh, was destroyed by the Arab commander Junaid, who afterwards overran the countries to the eastward, penetrating to Bhroch and Ujjain.§

The mention of "Bala, King of Ash Sharki" having been killed by Musa Bin Yahya, one of the successors of Junaid,|| confirms the identity of the lake, as Bal or Bali-ka-Rai (the Balhara of the latter Arab writers) was the title of the rulers of the country upon the eastern shores of the Rann.

Although much inferior in size to the Indus, the Hakra must have been of vast importance to such a thirsty region as Sindh, and the change in its course produced there the same results as further north.

Several points in the history of this country, hitherto not easily

* Travels in Bokhara, III, 323.

† Anabasis, VI, 20.

‡ Elliot, I, 383.

§ Elliot, I, 125.

|| *Ibid.*, I, 125.

explained, are cleared up by the discovery that a considerable river once flowed through it to the eastward of the Indus. Thus, the former wide extent of cultivation and existence of flourishing towns, in a tract now arid and sterile, is no longer a subject for wonder. And we can understand the sudden conversion of these lands into a sandy waste; and the migration of the people, driven from their homes by drought and famine, which could not have arisen from any transient cause, as the country has ever since been desert. In the tract once fertilised by this lost river, where old tanks and ruined temples are still to be met with, are now spaces of fifty miles without water, and the wells vary from 70 to 500 feet in depth.*

Native historians of Sindh often allude to the desolation caused by the drying up of this stream, but from these authorities no precise date can be fixed for its occurrence. The association of the event, however, with the great famine and the exodus from the Banks of the Hakra, also with the ruin of the Sumras, and the rise of the Sammas to power, shows that it must have happened in the early part of the thirteenth century; when, as we have already seen, the Satlej finally abandoned its ancient course. It is not known exactly when the Sumras were supplanted by the Samma tribe, but it must have been about the middle of the thirteenth century. Ferishta and other authorities tell us that the Sumras ruled at Debal, or Thatta, when the Sultán Jalál-ud-dín invaded Sindh in A.H. 620, (A.D. 1223.)† We also learn from the *Tárikh-i-Masumi*, that Unar, first Jam of the Sammas, became ruler on the overthrow of the Sumra dynasty, and that he was killed after a short reign and was succeeded by Jam Juna. This chief, who "drove the Turks out of Bakhar and ruled all Sind," had reigned thirteen years at the time of Alá-ud-dín's invasion, in A.H. 697 (D. 1296). The accession of Jam Juna was therefore, in A.D. 1283; so that the downfall of the Sumras must have occurred between A.D. 1223 and that year, having been preceded by the disappearance of the Hakra river.

Alá-ud-dín's army, according to the *Tárikh-i-Masumi*, was sent by Ulugh Khán, the Sultán's brother, then Governor of Multán, and was commanded by Taj Kafuri and Tatar Khán. It soon overran the whole of Sindh.

Jam Juna died at this time, and was succeeded by Tamachi, who was taken prisoner and carried away to Dehli, but was allowed to return to Sindh and resume his government.‡

The following legend relative to the drying-up of the Hakra is from the *Tárikh-i-Tahiri*, which was written three centuries after the event described; and when this had evidently become confused

* *Annals of Rájasthán*, II, 303. † Elliot, I, 224.

• † Elliot, II, 564.

with the desertion by the main stream of the eastern branch of the Indus—the Sind Sāgara or Dhora Purān. The historian, whose dates are very incorrect, says: “From the year H. 700 (A.D. 1300) to H. 843 (A.D. 1439) the Hindu tribe of Sumra were the rulers of Sind; and that portion which is now so flourishing (Thatta) was then a mere waste, owing to the scarcity of water in the Sind or Panjāb river below Bukkar. No water flowed towards those regions. (or rather, water was deficient in those lands), and water is the very foundation of all prosperity. The capital of this people (Sumras) was the city of Muhafma¹ Tur, which is now depopulated and is included in the pargana of Dirak. Not I alone, but many others have beheld these ruins with astonishment.” “The cause of the ruin of the above-named city and its dependencies, which had flourished between nine hundred and a thousand years, was as follows:—Below the town of Alor (Arór) flowed the river of the Panjāb which was called by the names of Hakra, Wahind, Dahan, and by others; for its name changes at every village by which it flows. After fertilizing the land, the river poured its waters into the sea.” The legend goes on to say that Delu Rai, who governed the country between the capital and Aror (which city had then evidently decayed) was a tyrant and levied large contributions from all traders who passed that way in boats from the country of Hind. At last, a merchant came who had with him not only very rich stores, but also a beautiful damsel. The latter was of course demanded by Delu Rai. The merchant obtained three days’ respite which he employed in erecting a *band* (embankment) across the river, below Aror, by which the course of the stream was turned in the night; and the people of the country, when they awoke next morning, found nothing but mud in the bed of the Hakra. In consequence of this, “the scarcity of water soon caused the grass and the fields to wither and death laid its grasp upon men and cattle.” The historian continues: “When through the tyranny of Delu Rai the river of the town of Aror became dry, the passage of the river came to be made near Sehwan, and that town which is still flourishing became populated.” We are also told that the want of water ruined the lands of the tribe of Sumra, and that the Samma tribe, which had been subject to the Sumras, removed from that country and settled near Thatta.*

This legend is well known in Sindh, but the names and dates vary much, as also does the site of the *band*. The author just quoted, who lived at Thatta, places the embankment below Aror; in Northern Sindh it is supposed to have been at some point

* Elliot, I, 272.

higher up the river ; while still further north, as already mentioned, it is said to have been where the Satlej enters the plains.

The story just quoted brings before us forcibly the suddenness of the catastrophe, and plainly shows that the drying-up of the Hakra was not from any gradual shrinking of the stream, but owing to the diversion of its waters into another channel. As already alluded to, the historian has confused the tradition of the drying-up of the Hakra with some other relating to changes in the delta of the Indus. One of these, no doubt that of the main stream from the eastern or great Mihran to the western or smaller branch, is said by McMurdo to have caused the fertilization of the lands near Thatta, which were previously barren.

It is not known when this change took place, but Al Biruni, in the eleventh century, describes the eastern as the greater and the western as the smaller mouth of the Mihran ; while at the time of the invasions of Muhammad Tughlak and Firúz Sháh (A.D. 1350 and 1370) the western branch which flowed under Thatta was the main stream. This was so broad that the latter commander could not from the left bank see the battle which was being fought on the opposite shore.*

It may be observed that the legend just quoted does not relate to the destruction of Aror, as it has been supposed to do ; nor can it refer to any change in the course of the Indus. The name of the river was Hakra or Wahind, and the city ruined by its drying-up was Muhammad Tun, the capital of the Sumras, which was situated in the now desert tract, south of Amarkot.

Aror could not have been deserted in consequence of any change in the course of the rivers, as the Mihran, upon which according to the Arab geographers it was built, still flows within five miles of its site ; and is much nearer to it than the Hakra ever was.

This ancient capital of Sindh appears to have been supplanted by Bukhar, which was a stronger position ; and to have gradually decayed, probably in consequence of repeated plunderings.

McMurdo says, on the authority of the Tofat-al-Girani, that Bukhar was built by the Arabs from the ruins of Aror.† This can, however, be only partially correct ; as the latter city is mentioned as a place of wealth and importance by oriental geographers, down to the eleventh century ; and is referred to in the Annals of Jessalmír in S. 1212 (A.D. 1156). It is stated also in the Annals of Mewar that a brother of the Rájput Chief of that State held Aror in S. 1249 (A.D. 1193) as a fief of Ghazni ; and was succeeded by a younger brother, who became a convert to Islám. ‡ After this, Aror is no more alluded to in history ;

* Elliot, III, 332.

No. II.

† Journal Royal Asiatic Society,

‡ Can this have been Delu Rai ?

but it was still inhabited at the beginning of the thirteenth century, when it was visited by the translator of the *Chach-námeh*.

Bukhar appears to have been in existence long before the Moslem invasion.

This fortress, according to Tod, was founded by the Pramara Rájputs* of which tribe the Sumras were an offshoot.

It is most probable that the island fort is identical with Baghrur, which is coupled with Alrur (Aror), by the historians of the Arab conquest of Sindh, as Bukhar is with Rhorī to this day; and which is said by the *Chach-námeh* to be a fort situated upon the Mihran, in the country of Aror, and opposite to Budhya.† The latter name was applied to the country on the right bank of the Indus above Sehwan, and separated from Bukhar by the river.

This fort was the chief stronghold of the governors of Sindh, under the kings of Ghazni; and afterwards of Nasr-ud-din Kubácha, who ended his reign there by being drowned in the Indus H. 625 (A.D. 1228),

Of Delu Rai, nothing certain is known, but as his capital was Muhammad Tur, he must apparently have been a Sumra. The Hindu title does not seem to accord with the name of his city, but his brother, Chata, is said to have been a Musalmán. Hindu and Moslem names and titles were strangely mixed up in those days.

The portion of the legend relating to Sehwan is manifestly incorrect. The Hakra never flowed near Sehwan. There has been no deficiency of water in the Indus, between Bukhar and that city, within the range of history; nor any such change as is here described in the course of that river. Sehwan has flourished from the earliest period; and certainly did not become populated at the time of the ruin of Muhammad Tur and the Sumra dynasty.

Local tradition, according to Captain McMurdo, assigns a higher antiquity to this fortress than to Aror or Bráhma-nábád;‡ and Colonel Tod mentions that it was held by Bhirthahari, who was expelled from Ujjain in the first century by his brother Vikramáditya.§

According to the *Tárikh-i-Sindh*, Siwistán (Sehwan) was the capital of one of the four great divisions of the kingdom of Sindh and Hind, in the time of Rai Siharas,|| five reigns before that of Dahir which ended in A.D. 712. The mention of this city by

* Annals of Rájasthán, I, 91.

† Elliot, I, 122, 123, 163.

‡ Journal Royal Asiatic Society, No. II.

§ Annals of Rájasthán, II, 333.

|| Known on the northern confines of Sind as Rai Uíran. Tradition says that Multán and the ancient fortress of Mhau Mobarak were built by this chief.

Arrian, Strabo, and others, as Sindomana, by the Arab geographers Ibn Kurdadba (A.D. 900), Al Istakhri (A.D. 950), and Ibn Haukal (A.D. 970), as Sadusan; by Al Idrisi (A.D. 1100) as Sharusan; and by all as a place of importance, shows that from the fourth century B.C. to the twelfth century A.D. there was no want of water at Sehwan. Al Idrisi, indeed, says that the city was remarkable for the number of its fountains and canals, and the extent of its commerce.* In the map of Sind of the Askalul Bilad (A.D. 1193), Sadusan is placed upon the main stream of the Indus. From this time, Sehwan is frequently mentioned as a flourishing place, In A.D. 1350, Sultán Muhammad bin Tughlak, when marching along the banks of the Indus to Thatta, collected a fleet of boats at Siwistán; and twenty years later Fírúz Sháh did the same.

Thus it may be seen, that no such change as that alluded to in the legend can have taken place, in the course of the Indus, between Bukhar and Sehwan. The source of the error was evidently the confusion of two separate events, as already alluded to.

The Eastern Narra has been generally considered as the former course of the Indus; and it is marked in Kiepert's map as "Ancient bed of Sindhu." Whether, however, this channel was originally the bed of the Indus or of the Satlej, in it the waters of the Sotra, Hakra, or Wahind, flowed through the Sumra lands in the thirteenth century; at which time, the course of the Indus had been for ages by Bukhar and Sehwan.

Further, it was not until the drying-up of the Hakra, that the country on the banks of the Narra became waste, and was abandoned by its inhabitants.

It is tolerably certain, however, for the following reasons, that the Narra or Hakra was originally the bed of the Satlej; although the flood waters of the Indus have found their way into it in recent times:—

1st.—Not only are the Narra and the Hakra continuous, but the channel is known by the latter name to this day, from Bhatnair to the Bann of Kach.

2nd.—Although many different names are given to the Narra, it is never called Sindh, or Sindh Dhora (old bed of Sindh); but, as just mentioned, it is known as Hakra and Hakra Dhora, also as Wahind. These names, as we have seen, are borne by the old channel of the Satlej.

3rd.—Tradition represents the Hakra as flowing, not into the Indus, but into the sea, to the south of the Mer country;† also

* Elliot, I, 79.

† The Mers or Mhairs—identical with the Meds of the early Arabic writers (Elliot, I, 524) once occupied

a great portion of Sind and the neighbouring country, and are still widely spread over the tract to the eastward of the Indus.

as spreading out at its mouth into a lake, so wide, that for fifty or sixty *kós* (80 to 100 miles), nothing could be seen but water. This lake could only be the Rann.

4th.—There is no old channel traceable from the Indas to the Narra, but the waters of the former, during the inundation, overflow its banks for a space of fifty miles or more, and spread over the country; finding their way at last into the latter.

When the floods of the Indus are very high, a great volume of water sometimes thus enters the Narra. This was the case in 1826, as mentioned by Burnes, and it has occurred several times since. The Aror canal, excavated a few years ago, also conducts the waters of the Indus into the Narra.

The tract thus subject to inundation is intersected by canals and drainage channels; some of the latter being of considerable size.

The old bed of the Indus, known as Sindh Dhora, is from ten to fifteen miles west of the present course of the river; and consequently so much further from the Hakra.

5th.—The slope of the country, as shown by canals, &c., is from the Indus to the Narra, which is against the supposition that the latter channel was forsaken by that river; while it favours the entrance of the flood-waters into the bed of the Hakra.

6th.—The Narra or Hakra does not form a delta; while, between Aror and the borders of the Rann, it does not approach, nor has it any communication with the Indus. Therefore, either the Narra could not have been the Indus, or the head of the delta must have been above Bukhar and Aror; which is very much too far north for the situation of Patala.

Arrian mentions that Alexander took Sindomana (Sehwan), before he reached the delta. And, according to Ptolemy, the river divided half-way between its mouth and the capital of Oxykanus. This city, which was several days' sail below the junction of the Chenáb with the Indus, has been identified by Major-General Cunningham with Mahorta, near Larkana, forty-five miles west of Aror.* From this it is clear that the head of the delta could not have been above the latter city.

Moreover, all the old geographers agree that the Mihran divided near to, and above, Mansura; and that this capital was several days' journey south of Aror. Al Istakhri and Ibn Haukal place this latter city half-way between Multán and Mansura; so also it is laid down in the map of the Askal-ul-Bilad. Al Idrisi says the distance from Aror to Mansura is seven days. The head of the delta, therefore, must have been a long distance south of Aror. In fact, the old

* Ancient Geography of India, I, 260.

bed of the eastern arm of the Indus still exists to the west of the Nara, in the position ascribed by the writers named.

7th.—No allusion is made by any of Alexander's historians to a large river such as the Hakra entering the Indus below the Akesines; although, with an army marching along the bank, such a junction could not have been overlooked.

8th.—Rai Chach and Muhammad Kásim, the former in the seventh and the latter in the eighth century, crossed no river in marching from Aror to Multán till they reached the Biyás.

9th.—Sehwan has flourished probably from the time of Alexander, but certainly from the reign of Rai Siharas in the sixth century, to the present time. This could not have been the case, in a rainless region, if the Indus had been flowing in the Eastern Nara, between sixty and seventy miles distant. Further, the Chach-námeh tells us that when Muhammad Kásim laid siege to Sehwan (A.D. 712) the river Sindhu flowed on the northern side of his camp.* Whether this refers to the main stream or to its branch the Aral signifies little, as the latter has no connection with the Eastern Nara, and could not have been in existence had the Indus not flowed in its present course.

10th.—The name (Muhammad Tur) of the city which was ruined by the drying-up of the Hakra; and its having been the capital of the Sumra dynasty, which lasted from about the middle of the eighth to the latter part of the thirteenth century,† show that this event happened long after the conquest of Sindh by the armies of Islám. At that time the course of the Indus is known to have been to the west of Aror.

Much interesting information as to the rivers of Sindh may be gathered from the description of the marches of the army under Muhammad Kásim. We learn from Al Biladuri, that the Arab commander before reaching Nirun (Haidarábád) crossed a river on this (west) side of the Mihran.‡ And, according to the Chach-námeh, after staying some days at Nirun, he determined to go to Siwistán, and, having captured it, to re-cross the river and proceed against Dahir.§ That this also was the "river on this side the Mihran" is evident, as Nirun was to the west of the main stream of the Indus, which had not yet been crossed.

Having taken Siwistán, Sisam, and the country opposite the fort of Baghrur (Bukhar?) on the Mihran, Muhammad Kásim received orders from Hajjaj to return to Nirun, take measures to cross the Mihran, and to fight with Rai Dahir. The Arab commander again arrived at Nirun, when he collected boats, and having constructed a floating bridge, he crossed the Mihran. After several marches the army came to Jewar or Jaipur

* Elliot, I, 159.

† Elphinstone's History, 312.

‡ Elliot, I, 121.

§ Ibid, I, 158.

on the banks of a stream called by the Arab writers Wadhawah or Dadhawah, near which a battle was fought and Rai Dahir was killed.*

The fort of Rawar, the residence of the King of Sindh, was built upon this river, which was navigable both above and below it, for Muhammad Kásim directed Nuba son of Daras, to hold the place and keep the boats ready, and if any boat coming up or down the river was loaded with men or arms to take them and bring them to the fort. "And he placed the boats on the upper part of the river under the charge of Ibn Ziyad-ul-Abdi."†

This Wadhawah or Dadhawah was evidently, the Hakra which bore amongst other names those of Wandanwah and Dahanwah.

The Mihran or main stream of the Indus, at that time, was the channel now known as Dhora Purán. And the river on this side the Mihran" must have been the eastern and then smaller branch of that stream.

Elphinstone has placed Rawar and the scene of Rai Dahir's defeat upon the Indus, the existence of the Hakra as a separate river not having been known; but the Chach-námeh distinctly says that the fort was built, and the battle was fought, on the banks of the Wadhawah or Dadhawah, and that this was several marches beyond the Mihran.‡

The Dhora Purán may be traced, under different names, from above Halla to the Rann of Kach. There can be no doubt that as observed by Pottinger,§ this was the eastern branch of the Indus down which Alexander sailed to the great lake, and to the sea.

This also was evidently the eastern or greater arm of the Mihran, described by Rashid-ud-díft, as branching off from above Mansura to "the east, to the borders of Kach," and "known by the name of Sindh Sagara."||

This ancient river-bed is also identical with the Sankra Nala which was constituted, by Nádir Sháh, the boundary between his dominions and those of the Emperor of Dehli.

On the east bank of this channel are the ruins of Bráhma-nábád, the ancient capital of Sindh; and on the west, was built its famous successor Mansura; upon the site of which, in the fourteenth century, was founded the still later Nasirpur.

The Dhora Purán, therefore, was the Mihran of Muhammad Kásim; and to the eastward of this flowed the Wahind Sagara, Hakra, or Dahanwah.

The term Sagara being applied to both rivers has led to some confusion. Thus, in Sir H. Elliot's manuscript of the Chach-námeh, the Wahind Sagara is mentioned as the stream up which

* Elliot, I, 170.

† *Ibid.*, I, 189.

‡ *Ibid.*, I, 168, 172.

§ Journal Royal Asiatic Society, No. II.

|| Elliot, I, 49.

Muhammad Kásim sent his mangonels in boats towards Nirun ; when the Sind Sagara, as given in the other MSS. is evidently intended.

Sagara, of which, as already mentioned, Hakra is a corruption, appears to have been rendered by some of the early Arab writers, literally, as "Sea" (*bahr* or *bahera*.) Thus Al Biladuri tells us that the famous city of Mansura, which was between two branches of the Indus, was built on this (western) side of the sea of Sindh (Sindh Sagara ?), and the fortress of Malfuza on the other side facing Hind.* This has, doubtless, puzzled commentators in their endeavours to identify the sites of these and other ancient cities mentioned by the historians of the early Moslem invasions.

The course of the lost river has now been traced from the Himálayas to the sea. Probably, with more extended enquiry, much additional information on the subject might be elicited. Sufficient evidence has, however, been brought forward to show that the Hakra did not dry up in consequence of any diminution of rainfall or failure of its source ; but that its waters, having ceased to flow in their ancient bed, still find their way by another channel to the ocean.

It has also been demonstrated that the missing river was not the Gaggar, nor the sacred Saraswatí, nor yet a mythic stream ; but was no other than the well-known Satlej.

* Elliot, I, 126.

ART. II.—CHRONICLES OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

PART II.—THE MARAVA COUNTRY.

NEAR the southern extremity of the Indian peninsula, the level line of the coast is broken by a spit of land which runs out, flanked by a group of reefs and islands, to link the long severed island of Ceylon to the mainland. At that point lies the province of Rámnád; the largest of those islands is Ráméswaram. Nature has done so little for this remote corner of India, that man had every reason to leave it to its drought and barrenness. The sand dunes that fringe the surf-beaten shore of the Bay of Bengal, and urge an unwearying struggle with the sea, now giving way to the encroaching waves, and again advancing into the shallows and raising barriers that defy the surf, seldom exceed a width of one mile from the present shore-line. But the coast of Rámnád has more than its fair share of Sahara. The meeting of the seas, and the projection of the coast combine to heap up the drifting sand-dunes over long miles of land; and from the town of Rámnád to the narrow channel of Pámben, the traveller has to toil through more than twenty miles of sandy desert, fruitful of nothing but palmyra trees.

Nature has, indeed, dealt very hardly with Rámnád; and the wretched country would, doubtless, have been crushed by this cruel destiny, had not human faith and religious legend flung a glow of renown over the country of Ráma, which has made its name known in every corner of India; and has drawn to it crowds of eager pilgrims from every village of the Ganges valley, from Hardwar, to the sea.

Ease and accessibility have never been counted as necessary conditions of pilgrimages and shrines: the ascetics of Cyrene hoped to win heaven by the weariness and misery of the life they led. And a pilgrim who starts bravely from his distant home in Hindustán; and, toiling painfully through dusty heat and chilling storm, reaches in successive stages Benáras, Turi, Mahábalipuram, Srírangam, and Ráméswaram, may justly think that the undying faith which bears him through such trials will win from a higher power some rich reward.

For centuries the stream of pilgrims has never ceased to flow. There is every difficulty to repel; and but little magnificence to attract. Benáras is on the great highway of Hindustán; and is a very city of shrines and temples, to which even admiring curiosity can scarce fail to be drawn. Jagganáth has a magnificent pile of buildings erected in his honor; endowed by the devout, and guarded by princes. At the very furthest

corner of India stands the one temple of Ráméswarem ; built on a miserable sandy island ; cut off by sand-dunes on the shore side, and by a rocky and difficult sea channel ; nor is the temple remarkable for size, nor architectural beauty, nor outward splendour. Faith, however, supplies every defect suggested by reason ; and so it is the lifelong desire until accomplished, and the life-long blessing when won, to visit this distant shrine ; to bathe in its holy sea ; to pour out before the sculptured deity the holy water of the Ganges, that has been carried without a murmur for many thousand miles ; and to bear away with the divine blessing a few drops from the temple well, which combines every virtue, and has power to remove every stain of sin.

A country of such fame and a temple of such sanctity can scarcely fail to reward inquiry into their past history. In this Kaliyugam, faith may fail, but curiosity increases. The legend may have lost its power, but only to gain fresh interest as a fragment of history. The pilgrims of religion are replaced by the pilgrims of enquiry ; and instead of eager questioning as to ablutions and ceremonies, examination begins as to the separation of history from legend, as to the existence of heroes, and the dates of buildings.

Decay is busy with these records of the past in India. The legends that have been woven round holy shrines ; and which converted heroic men into superhuman heroes, are falling into forgetfulness, and will soon be dead. Inscriptions are defaced or destroyed by the rough weather or by rude human ignorance. A few shrivelled leaves, worm-eaten and broken, are the only records that a corporation possesses which claims to have maintained the worship of Ráma, the hero-deity, ever since the country of Dravida was inhabited by the monkey race, and covered with the primeval forest. From such crumbling chronicles has the story to be gathered of this region ; the drear sandy waste that from the first glimmer of history has been known as ' Marava Desam '—the home of the Marava tribe.

Of this tribe the prince of Rámnád claims to be a titular head and suzerain. His personal territory extends for more than 100 miles along the sea board, and comprises an area of 2,400 square miles ; but, besides this district, the ' Marava Desam ' includes the neighbouring territory of Siva-gangei ; with a large portion, if not the whole, of the Tinneveli district.

- But the best prelude to an account of its present fortunes will be an outline of its earliest traditions.

Thus runs the fable of those distant days. Ráma, the god-hero, came to the shore of the southern sea to cross to Lanka, to win back from Rávana his ravished bride Sita. And he waited on the shore, and cursed the opposing waves, and called to the

Sea-King, Vamṇa, to bear him with his army across the sea. But the Sea-King slept ; and heard not Rāma's call.

Then was the hero wroth, and seized his bow, and fixed an arrow to the string and swore that if Vamṇa came not, he would shoot, and with one stroke dry up his waters. Then Vamṇa, the Sea-King, heard the angry voice, and came with presents, and fell at Rāma's feet, and besought pardon, and offered help.

But the arrow that was in Rāma's bow must needs be shot, and so the hero aimed it against the race of Vedan, hunters, who dwelt in the forest of Marga-antaram, and who plundered the travellers that passed by their roads. And the arrow sped forth and carried death to all the race ; and every Vedan was stricken and perished, except one, whose name was Semban.

Now Semban approached, and fell at Rāma's feet and besought the hero to protect him, the last of his race, and to spare him from the stroke of his arrow. Then Rāma smiled upon the suppliant and spared his life, and made him guardian of the forests of the country, which was thence called Sembī-nadu even to this day. And as a token of his favour Rāma gave to Semban a stick, in the form of half the holy chakram, or disc, and so the Maravan race carries the Valaritadi, or boomerang that Rāma gave them, and hold the country that the god granted to Semban. From that day they guard the holy temples of the island of Rāmeswaram ; they are custodians of the Setau or causeways that lead pilgrims to the shrines ; and the town of the head of the race. Rāmanādapuram, the city of Rāma's land, is the last stage in the pilgrimage of the Rāmāyanam. To separate in this tradition the myth from the history, the fable from the fact, would be as unsatisfactory as it would be rash.

That a conqueror from the north may have reached the southern shores of India, and even conquered the island of Ceylon is the bare conjecture that the rich legends of the Rāmāyanam leave behind them. The destruction of the indigenous race by Rāma's shaft may mean nothing more than that the savage tribes that then peopled the primeval forest resisted bravely but fruitlessly the wave of northern conquest. Perhaps the only solid fact that stands up among this wreath of fiction is that of the acquisition of the primitive hunters' weapon, the boomerang of the Maravar, which still lingers in their hands as a missile in the jungle ; and still earns for an unerring aim small prizes of hares and ground-game.

This story of Rāma and Semban is the simplest and, therefore, the best tradition of the tribe's beginning. There is, however, another myth, dating from the same time ; but which savours strongly of the Herald Office, and is marked by the ingenuity of courtly chronicles. The Brahmanical historians of Rāmnād relate that the first prince of the conquered Marava country was Rāja

Guha, the king of the Bhils, who was summoned by Rāma, on his victorious return to Rāmeswaram from Lanka, to rule the new conquest, and to guard the newly consecrated Lingaur.

Those who know the early chapters of the Rāmāyanam will remember that when Rāma fled from Ayodha, he was ferried across the Ganges by King Guha; and that the two princes vowed perpetual friendship on the river's bank. So, say the chroniclers, when the time came to leave the southern shore, Rāma summoned his ancient friend, King Guha, from his Bhil country, and bade him govern the rude people of Maravar, and protect the pilgrims that would visit Rāmeswaram. The royal line, thus divinely established, is not even pretended to have lived. The veil of darkness falls again over the land, and for long centuries not one glimmer of historical light falls upon the country of Rāma. Perhaps, some fancied resemblance between the rude hill-men of the Bhil country and the Maravar of the South suggested to the Aryan Brahman the story of Rājā Guha; and a legend so complimentary to the dignity of the Rāmnād dynasty would be readily received as at once probable and pleasant by the modern Suzerains of the Maravar country.

Except this fabled connection between the Maravar and the Bhils, no tradition remains of a Northern origin of the tribe. Nor is this surprising when we remember the immense interval of time that must have passed since these settlers first broke ground on the Southern shores of India. If the true history of population in this Continent lies in the pushing forward of wave after wave by pressure from the North; the earliest wave has long since settled down and has left no ripple of its motion. They were the first that ever burst into that silent land; and every echo of sound that then broke the silence has been long hushed and drowned by later movements.

The Maravar, therefore, if they come from the far North, have lost almost every memory of their old home. Not so the later settlers, of whom almost each wave has its traditions, if not its history; and who represent in their so-called caste-divisions the successive waves of invasion and settlement.

It cannot be too often repeated that the caste-divisions of Southern India bear no sort of correspondence to the conventional arrangement into the four groups of—1. Brahmans. 2. Kshatriyas. 3. Vaisyas. 4. Sudras. Population may be grouped in many ways; by ethnic character; by language; by occupation; by religion; and the term 'caste' may loosely be applied to each of such groups. But to suppose that the social classification of Manu holds good in the nineteenth century A.D., as it did five centuries B. C.; and is as true of Dravida as of the Gaudetic valley; is a delusion that can be maintained by those

alone whose interest bids them preserve it. Along the shores of Southern India the conventional caste grouping is absolutely meaningless. At the foot of the social tree, which has many branches, but no head, lie many roots each of different ethnic history, but resting all on one level of contempt beneath the superior branches. The Shanar, the Pallar, the Pareiyar, with the lowest grades of the fishing community, are the menials, and often the actual slaves of the moneyed classes. It would be much more accurate to class its population as consisting of traders and servants on one side, and farmers and labourers on the other, than to talk of the priest, and the soldier and the merchant, and the serf, as successive grades in the body politic.

Thus the castes of Dravida lie, as a geologist would say, unconformably, and without stratification, side by side, and group by group, in no regular hierarchy of social succession; but almost wholly independent the one of the other. Foreigners of modern settlement, such as the Nayakkar and Reddis of the Northern Carnatic; strange races, like the Sabbais and Musalmáns; special guilds, as the Paravar fishermen; not only do not acknowledge their social inferiority to the self-styled 'twice-born'; but such a comparison would never occur to them as possible. They never waste a thought upon any one outside their own little community. Feuds are far more common between rival factions of the same caste, than between different castes, Maravar fight with Maravar; Shanar with Shanar, and Paravar with Paravar over some miserable family controversy. But each caste allows the other to go its own way unmolested, so long as offensive innovations do not occur to excite hostility.

Much of this insulation of individual communities living side by side, arises from their self-sufficiency, so to speak; the power of supplying within the circle of the community the various wants of the members, by subdivision of labour among them. In many parts of India every function of human life demands the services of a separate social organism. There is a caste to grow the grain; and a caste to sell it; a caste to make the plough; and a caste to drive it. The potter who kneads the clay; and the mason who wields the trowel; and the carpenter who handles the chisel, are all of different castes, and none would consent, under any necessity, to trench upon the particular business of his neighbour of different caste.

It is far less so in Southern India than elsewhere. A Paravar, for instance, will build a vessel as a shipwright; colour it as a painter; or sail it as a mariner. He will build a house or shop as a mason; or sell cloth or rice or liquor or groceries in it as a trader.*

* He might be a "Soldier, sailor, ploughboy or thief," and the last, less tiuker, tailor, gentleman, apothecary, frequently than any other.

A tendency to change their course is to be observed in most of the Panjáb rivers. In the case of the Satlej, this is accounted for amongst the people by the following legend :—

"In the time of the great Rájá Salwan (Śáliváhana) the Sutludra (Satlej) flowed southwards from the Himálayas, through the country now occupied by the Bikanír and Bháwalpur states, and onwards through Sindh to the sea.

"Puran the eldest son of Salwan, who had become a religious ascetic, for some reason invoked a curse upon the river, and ordered it to leave its bed and go to join the Rávi. The river obeyed, and began from that time to change its course more and more towards the west; till, six hundred and fifty years ago, it entered the Hyás valley. The western branch of the Naiwal, then deserted by the stream, was the last of these channels connected with the Hakra which, therefore, at this time (about A.D. 1220) finally ceased to flow. The Zamíndárs (landholders) afraid that the river, in obedience to the command of Puran, would soon leave their lands, as it had already done those further south, besought the intercession of the holy Shaikh Farid-ud-dín Shukar Ganj. This great apostle of Islam, having prayed, commanded the wandering stream not to move beyond five kós (7 miles) from the bed in which it was then flowing." This was the channel to the west or Abohar known as Dhunda or Dhund-i-Daria, and has been already alluded to.

Puran, son of Salwan, is the hero of many legends in the Panjáb; and many disasters, especially famines, have been attributed to his curse.

The account of the intervention of Baba Farid is probable enough. The good offices of holy men are still sought when changes occur in the course of these rivers, as is so often the case in the rainy season; when sometimes the whole lands of a village are carried away in a few days.

Shaikh Farid died in A.H. 660 (A.D. 1261) at the age of 77,* and his memory is still held in the greatest veneration throughout a large portion of the Panjáb. His tomb at Ajodhan, now called Pak Pattan (holy ferry), was visited by Firúz Sháh and by Timur, and is still a celebrated place of pilgrimage.

That the lands on the banks of the Hakra thus became waste in the first half of the thirteenth century, is confirmed, by the tradition still preserved throughout the course of the lost river, that at this period the country was depopulated by a terrible famine, and that the surviving inhabitants took refuge in the valley of the Indus, the tract then abandoned having ever since been desert.

It is stated in the Tabakát-i-Násiri, that when Uchh was besieged by the Mughuls, in H. 643 (A.D. 1245) the army sent to its relief

* Or, according to another account, in H. 664 (A.D. 1265) at the age of 95.

was unable to march by Sarsuti and Marot, in consequence of the drought on the banks of the river. Marot is now in the heart of the desert; but then the high road from Dehli to Multán passed under its walls, and followed the course of the Hakra from near Sarsuti to within a few marches of Uchh. After this period, armies marching from Dehli to Multán always took the road by Abohar and Ajodhan; but the more direct way by Marot was occasionally taken by travellers for some time later.

Colonel Tod mentions that the only information he could obtain as to the drying-up of the Hakra (which he supposed to have been the Gaggar) was from a couplet recited to him by an old man of Dandosir near Bhatnair. This was to the effect that the country was rendered waste by the river ceasing to flow, in the time of Rai Hamir Sodha.* According to the *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*,† Hamir was the last of the Sumra dynasty, which ruled in Sindh and over a considerable portion of the desert of Maru. The Sumras were a branch of the Soda tribe of Rájputs, and their downfall occurred in the thirteenth century, after the destruction of their lands by the drying-up of the Hakra.

The Satlej when it abandoned the western Naiwal entered "the valley of the Báyás, as already mentioned, and flowed under the high land which formed its eastern boundary. At this time, therefore, took place the first junction between these rivers, and their combined streams were henceforward known as Beyah (Báyás). The application of the name Satlej to the streams below the confluence is a modern innovation, and is not to be found in old writings, Hindu or Muhammadan. The Garrah was never known as Satadru or Satludra.

Thus, in the *Tabakát-i Násiri* it is mentioned that in "A.H. 643 (A.D. 1245) news arrived of an army of Mughals under Mangú Khán having reached Uchh. The Sultán Alá-ud-dín marched from Dehli to drive back the invaders and "when he arrived on the banks of the Beyah the infidels raised the siege of Uchh."‡

Here the allusion is to the united streams. The Satlej is not mentioned, although the writer was with the army, that river having then become merged in the Báyás.

Again, the same authority says that in H. 655 (A.D. 1257) Malik Kishlu Khán Balban came from Sindh to the banks of the Beyah, from whence he marched to Samána.§ Here the combined Báyás and Satlej is evidently meant.

We are told also, in the *Tárikh-i-Firúz Sháhí*, that in A.H. 667 (A.D. 1268) the Mughal horse crossed the Beyah, but were quickly driven back by forces from Multán, Samána, &c.||

* *Annals of Rájasthán*, II, 187.

† Elliot, I, 365, 485.

‡ *Ibid*, II, 344.

§ Elliot, II, 356.

|| *Ibid*, III, 112.

In each of these instances, as also in several passages of Ferishta, the river called Beyah is that which we now know as Satlej or Garrah. This is no clerical error, for the term is never applied to the Satlej above the confluence. Thus, according to the *Tárikh-i-Alai*, in A.H. 695 (A.D. 1296) the Tartar chief, Kadar, came with an army from the Jud mountain (Salt Range) and crossed the Jhelam, Beyah, and Satlader (Satlej).^{*} As this invader was defeated near Jhalandar, he must have crossed the latter rivers above their junction.

In the *Tárikh-i-Mubárák Sháhí* it is said that in A.H. 796 (A.D. 1395) Sarang Khán crossed the Satlader near Tehara.[†] And again, that in A.H. 823 (A.D. 1420) the rebel Tughan Rais with an army crossed the Satlader at Ludiánah.[‡] These towns are above the meeting of the two streams. The same authority applies the term Beyah to the combined rivers near Uchl.[§]

It was not by Musalmán writers only that this name was given to the stream which we now call Satlej or Garrah, for Colonel Tod observes that in the ancient chronicles of the Bhattis of Jesalmír, who were lords of the country on both its banks, "the Garrah is always called Beah."^{||} To this day, the river below Firúzpúr is known to the boatmen as Báyáh or Garrah. The modern term Satlej is rarely if ever used, except by those who have been brought into contact with Europeans.

All this shows pretty clearly that the Satlej is an interloper, and the Báyáh the original stream. Had it been otherwise the mighty Satlej must have retained its name throughout its course.

There is a legend to the effect, that the Naiwal, and therefore also the Hakra, became dry in consequence of a Rájá who lived near the hills having diverted the course of the river by a *bound* (embankment) in order to be revenged upon the chief of Bhattinda. This story is probably as true as that of Puran's curse, but both are confirmatory of the other evidence that each of these channels was in turn the bed of the Satlej.

Besides the ruins already referred to, many places of ancient renown still remain, in a more or less decayed condition, upon the banks of the Hakra and its branches. Of these may be mentioned Sarsuti (Sirsa), Bhatnair, Rangmahál, Sodul (Suratgarh), Úlwana (Sirdárgarh), Bhattinda, Mehera, Abohar, Bullur, Phulra, Marót Maujgarh, Derawal, Trehaira (Díngarh), Nohur (Islámgarh), and Thanót. Most of these were flourishing at the time of the early Muhammadan invasions.

In Sindh, the sites of many once famous towns, whose positions

^{*} Elliot.

[†] *Ibid.*, IV, 29.

[‡] *Ibid.*, IV, 53.

[§] Elliot, IV, 33.

^{||} *Annals of Rajasthan*, II, 262.

are disputed, may possibly yet be found upon the banks of this old river-bed.

With regard to the changes which led to the drying-up of the eastern or Bhatnair arm of the Sotra or Hakra, I have been unable to fix any dates for their occurrence; but it is probable that this channel was abandoned by the stream at least a century before the Hakra finally ceased to flow. The Bhattinda Naiwal, which next became the course of the river, was supplanted by the western or Abohar branch; and this was in its turn deserted, as already alluded to, in the first half of the thirteenth century.

According to the legend current on the spot, Bhatnair was founded by Bharat, brother of Rāma, three thousand years ago. In the middle of the eighth century this fortress was held by the Chohan Rājputs,* and in the eleventh century it is mentioned, with Multān and other important places, as tributary to the Chohan chief of Ajmīr.† Tradition asserts further, that the fort (which had probably been destroyed by the Ghazuvid invaders) was rebuilt in S. 1102 (A.D. 1045); and that the Sotra then flowed under its walls.

Bhattinda, though probably less ancient than Bhatnair, was also a place of note. It is by some writers considered to have been one of the capitals of Jaipāl, the great opponent of Mahmud, and to have been taken and sacked by the latter on his first expedition to India. Sir H. Elliot, however, points out that this is an error, and that Wāhīnd on the Indus, was the city destroyed on that occasion.‡ Local tradition says that Shāḥ-ud-dīn, after the defeat of Rai Pithura (A.D. 1193), repaired the fort of Bhattinda and dug a canal to supply it with water; so that the branch of the Naiwal upon which it was built had then become dry, and the river must have been flowing in that case to the westward, under the walls of Abohar.

About A.H. 664 (A.D. 1265) Bhatnair and Bhattinda were repaired by Malik Sher Khān, and occupied as defensive posts against the raids of the Mughals.§ It is probable, therefore, that both strongholds had then been for some time abandoned, owing to the surrounding lands having become waste from the changes in the course of the river lately referred to.

At the time of Timur's invasion, the Sallej, or at all events a portion of it, still flowed in the Dhunda, or Dhund-i-Dagān, already mentioned, which is under the high bank forming the boundary of the Bīyās valley, and some twelve miles from the Naiwal.

“As the term Dhund is generally applied to a channel containing

* *Annals of Rajasthan*, II, 117.

† *Ibid.*, II, 116.

‡ Elliot, II, 348.

§ *Ibid.*, III, 100.

water, but which has been deserted by the principal stream, it is probable that the main body of the river had then moved further west.

According to the *Tárikh-i-Mubárah Sháhí*. Taghi Khán Turkchi, one of the leaders of the disturbances which followed the departure of Timur, marched in H. 801. (A.D. 1400) from Samána towards Debalpur against Khizr Khán, with whom he fought a battle on the banks of the Dahunda in the khitta (district), of Ajodhan. The former chief was defeated and fled to Abohar.*

Again, in H. 808 (A.D. 1406) Malik Ikbál Khán marched from Rugar towards Multán, and fought a battle with Khizr Khán, on the banks of the Dahunda, near the khitta of Ajodhan.†

In S. 1650 (A.D. 1593) the Satlej again altered its course in the same direction towards Fazilka. After this several similar changes took place, till at last the main streams of Báyás and Satlej met at Hariki Pattan, and since A.D. 1796 the combined rivers have occupied the same channel. The lands on the banks of the old Báyás then became waste.

Previous to the junction just referred to, it appears that the two rivers did not flow in one bed as at present, but separated into several streams, every part of the wide valley being furrowed by the numerous channels occupied at different times. One of these is called the Garrah, and local tradition asserts that from this the present river derived the name. The same authority says that, in the time of Shaikh Bhawal Huk (early part of thirteenth century) the course of the Báyás was between Kuhror and Dhoniapur. In the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the united Satlej and Báyás are said (A.D. 1596) to flow in four streams, which meet near Multán. Of the names given—Har, Hari, Nurnai, and Dhund, the latter is the only one known at present. Most of these old channels bear, however, several different names; and it is probable that one of those referred to was the Garrah, upon the banks of which (A.D. 1524) Mirza Husain Sháh Arghun drew up his army to meet the attack of the Governor of Multán, who was marching to relieve Uchh.‡

When the main streams of the two rivers united, the greater body of water took the present more direct course, which probably differs little from that of the Hyphasis of Alexander, being to the eastward of most of the old channels.

In S. 1840 (A.D. 1783) the course of the Satlej reached its furthest limit towards the north-west. The bed of the river is now about twelve miles to the south of that in which it then flowed.

Previous to the 13th century, history not only makes

* Elliot, IV, 38.

† *Ibid*, IV, 10.

‡ Elliot, I, 314.

no allusion to any junction between the Satlej and the Báyás, but ignores the former entirely as an affluent of the Indus. Arrian, Strabo, and other classical writers, as well as the Arab geographers, omit all mention of the Satlej when describing the tributaries of the Indus. As the two rivers did not meet till they reached the Rann of Kach, this is sufficiently accounted for.

Thus, too, is solved the difficulty in providing a place for the Satlej amongst the five branches of the "Panjnád," which has compelled modern geographers to transfer that name from the Indus to the Chenáb. The latter has no claim whatever to this title which, as Burnes justly observes, is unknown upon its banks.* The "Panjáb" or "Panjnád" is the Indus itself.† The "five rivers" of the Vedas and Mahábhárata were five separate streams. The application of the term to any one river appears to be of later date.

Arrian's description of the four branches of the Indus is very clear. In his account of Alexander's voyage, this writer says:— "And he had not sailed far before he arrived at the confluence of the Hydraotes and Akesines, for the Hydraotes flowing into the Akesines there loses its name. Then sailing down the Akesines he came to the place where it falls into the Indus. For these four large and navigable streams at last discharge their waters into the Indus, though they do not preserve their individual names until that time. The Hydaspes falling into the Akesines loses its name there, the Akesines takes in the Hydraotes, and also the Hyphasis, and retains its name till it falls into the Indus."‡ Here, we have four large and navigable rivers flowing into the Indus. Of these, the identity of the first three (Hydaspes, Akesines, and Hydraotes) is undisputed; and the fourth, from its name (Hyphasis), and its position with regard to the others, could only have been the Báyás (Vipasa). Where then was the Garrah or Satlej? Had any such river joined either the Chenáb or Indus, it could not have escaped the notice of so many and acute observers as were in Alexander's fleet, or of the numerous writers who afterwards described his voyage. But the Satlej, flowing through Rájásthán and other unknown countries beyond the Hyphasis, would be included amongst those "other rivers" which, as Arrian says, "discharge their waters into the ocean, on this side the Ganges."

Strabo, after describing the same rivers as the writer just quoted, and in the same order, says: "All the rivers which have been mentioned, the last of which is the Hypanis, unite in one—the Indus."§ Here, again, is no allusion to any stream corresponding to the Satlej.

The Arab and other oriental writers of the middle ages ignore

* Travels in Bokhara, III, 287.

† Geog., XV, 1.

‡ Anabasis, VI, 14.

the existence of any such stream as the Garrah. In the Chach-námeh, a translation of an old Arabic account of the first Moslem invasion of India, no mention is made of the Satlej or Garrah, although the Báyás is frequently referred to. The translator of this work lived at Uchh, near the junction of the Chenáb and the Indus, at the beginning of the thirteenth century; and must have been well acquainted with the position of all the rivers of that part of the country.

In the work referred to, we are told that Chach, King of Hind and Sindh, in the seventh century, prepared an army intending to march to the boirdary of his kingdom which adjoined the Turk. The astrologers having fixed an auspicious time, he set out from Aror (on the left bank of the Indus, near Bukhar) and after many marches reached the fort of Pabiya, on the south bank of the Báyás. This fort was taken, and Chach then crossed the Báyás and the Rávi, and took Multán.* Here nothing is said of the Garrah or Satlej, although no other river is omitted which now intervenes between Aror and Multán; while the mention of the Rávi, which anciently flowed to the south of the last named city, is a proof of the accuracy of the historian.

The same writer in his account of the route of Muhammad Kásim, the Arab conqueror of Sind, (A.D. 712-13) says: "He then marched from that place (Aror) and journeyed till he arrived at the fort of Yabiba (Pabiya) on the south bank of the Báyás." Again, we find that "Muhammad Kásim left the fort (Pabiya), crossed the Báyás, and reached the fort of Askalund." After this he crossed the Rávi and took Multán.†

Al Biladuri, who lived some three centuries before the translator of the Chach-námeh, in describing the march of the Arab army, mentions no river between Aror and the Báyás.

The geographer Al Biruni (tenth century) says that the Sind after passing Audar (Aror) bears the name of Mihran, and adds: "In the same way as at this place (Aror) they call the collected rivers "Panjnad" (five streams), so the rivers flowing from the northern side of these same mountains (Himálaya) when they unite near Turmuz and form the river of Balkh (Oxus) are called the "Seven Rivers."‡

Thus, above its junction with the Chenáb, the Indus was called Sindh; from this point to Aror it was the Panjnad; and from that city to its mouth it bore the name of Mihran.

The Panjnad, therefore, included the Sindh and four other rivers, of which the Satlej could not have been one.

The writer just quoted gives a more detailed account of the

* Elliot, I, 140.

† *Ibid.*, I, 203.

‡ *Ibid.*, I, 149. May not these, and

not the seven rivers of the Panjáb be the "Hapta Hendu" of the Ven-
didad?

branches of the Indus, than do the other Arab geographers; but unfortunately, his description of the Satlej and its tributaries is very vague. This vagueness is increased by the translator having endeavoured to make his descriptions agree with modern geography, and to introduce the Satlej amongst the affluents of the Panjnad; although, as we have just seen, the author distinctly excludes it.

- After a description of the Kábul, Swat, and other streams, the translation runs thus: "All these rivers fall into the Sindh near to the fort of Biturashit, at the city of Kandahar which is Wajhind. After that comes, from the west, the river of Thibet called the Jhelam. This and the waters of the Chandra unite about fifty miles above Jharawar (Chandrawur?) and the stream flows to the west of Multán. The Beah joins it from the east. It also receives the waters of the Lawa (Rávi). Then the river Kaj flows into it, after separating it from the river Kuj, which flows from the hills of Bhatál. They all combine with the Sútíader below Multán, at a place called Panjnad, or junction of the five rivers."*

The first portion of this description is clear enough, but, with regard to the last two sentences, Sir H. Elliot observes: "There is some confusion here, which cannot be solved by any interpretation of the original. *I have modified the translation*, but the passage is still doubtful. The Arabic differs in some points. It makes no mention of the Chandra; but as it speaks of the waters being 'collected from many places,' it would seem that the name Chandra has been mistaken for the word *chand* (several). It is ambiguous about the Kaj, but it seems to say as follows: Then the river Laj separates it distinctly from the river Kut, which is collected from the waters of the mountains of Bhatál, and it joins it where it joins the Sútíader as it descends from Multán."†

From this, obscure as it is, one point at all events seems clear, which is, that the rivers collected from the mountains of Bhatál joined the Sútíader (Satlej). Now the Gaggar and Chitrang receive all the streams flowing from these mountains (the Sewálik range between Satlej and Jamná); one or both of them, therefore, must be referred to under the names Kut and Kaj; and they both join the Sotra or Hakra.

The Moorish geographer, Ibn Batuta, in describing his journey to Dehli, says: "On the first of the sacred month of Muharram H. 734 (A.D. 1333) we arrived at the river Sind, the same as is called Panjáb, a name signifying 'Five Rivers.'‡

The Táríkh-i-Háfiz Abri, written in the fifteenth century, but compiled from older writers, says of the Beyah: "This is also a large river which rises to the east of the mountains of Kashmír. It runs into the country of Lahawar, and to the

* Elliot I, 43.

† *Ibid*, I, 18.

‡ Elliot, III, 587.

A community so independent of the outer world has a strength and vitality all its own; and can afford to ignore its neighbours, and to despise barren claims for precedence. The Vellalor can make up a village republic, in which almost every social, religious, and even official function shall be exercised by a member of the same caste. The village magistrate and the village accountant, and the village policeman, are all as likely as not to be Vellalor. A Vellalor will keep the village school, and another will perform the services in the village church; while the land will be tilled, and the cattle tended, and the harvest-produce sold in distant markets by members of the same brotherhood, closely allied by caste fellowship as well as by kinship. The despised occupations, indeed, of cobbler, and of toddy-drawer will be left to the menials, whose fate it is to do that labour; but every decent pursuit from the merchant's office to the plough and the goad, is freely followed by members of the same caste.

Nor has this freedom gone without its reward. Upon a national existence so untrammelled by conventional fetters, the fossilising rigidity of Brahmanical caste was powerless for evil; and so far from struggling to restrict the freedom which he found, the Brahman of the North has been wisely ready to profit by it in his Southern home. He is thus himself free to engage in trade or agriculture, no less than in his traditional profession of a scholar, or in the official career which is its modern development.

The digression into which we have been led, has carried us far from the rude Marava tribe; but it has not been made in vain if the point be rendered clear, that caste in Southern India is a matter of ethnic division almost wholly, and of social gradation or occupation very little: that each great caste-group represents a wave of national inflow; and each minor subdivision of that group is only the ripple or eddy with which the wave found its level and settled down gradually into the still waters of permanent national existence. Occupation is a matter of personal conditions and of local necessities. The true source of the division into caste-groups must be found in tribal histories, and in the stories of small colonies that came to occupy an unbroken country.*

Can we not picture to ourselves the insulation of the new settlements, as wave succeeded wave in the peopling of India; and each family group or clan looked round for itself; and where it saw that the land was good, settled and found a home? Ages have

* A similar process may be watched actually in progress now in the reclamation of waste lands from the American forests, and in the peopling of American cities. Here, settles a colony of Germans; and there, a group of Danes. The Quakers in Pennsylvania and the Mormons round Salt Lake. The Chinamen are huddled together in a suburb of San Francisco, and the Irish in similar rookeries, in New York.

assimilated in some measure the various atoms, and have rolled them into one national conglomerate; but some diversities survive in each group; and distinguish the speech a little, but far more the habits and the thoughts and the life of the people. If these distinctions have survived and are powerful still, it is because contact has never been constant in a thinly peopled country, where mere sustenance is so accessible; and life, in its lowest form, can be maintained by a minimum of labour.

But it is time that we returned to Marava and its oldest race. The earliest traditions of the tribe distribute it among ten subdivisions, which are said to have been, in later times, welded into one compact tribal unit. These subdivisions are known by the following names:—

- 1.—Maravar, the strong men.
- 2.—Koravar, the dwellers in rocks.
- 3.—Van. Kannalar, the hard-hearted men.
- 4.—Vedār, the hunters.
- 5.—Parlingar, the dwellers in hills.
- 6.—Kusalar, the cunning men.
- 7.—Viradar, the heroic men.
- 8.—Talingar, the men from Telingána.
- 9.—Papparar, ditto Guzerat, Pappara Desam.*
- 10.—Maradar, ditto Maharashtra.*

With the exception of the last three (which are most unsatisfactory, as attempting to introduce the precision of geographical position among the other vague and purely descriptive names), these tribal designations illustrate clearly enough the characters and virtues of the wild forest people. The Maravar of Rámnád and Tinevelli is still the "strong hunter," and the hardness of his heart is still attested by the frequency of brutal murders, and the lawless recklessness that disfigures his life.

Though a coast-dwelling people, though their homes lie, if not within sight, at least, within scent of the sea, the Maravar are not a maritime race. They fish little and toil less; but gather a difficult and scanty sustenance from the poor soils of the coast-country and from the various products of the palmyra tree, that springs everywhere from the sand. To own a few cows is all a Maravar's ambition; and to steal those of his neighbour (of another caste) his only desire. Perhaps, no race of all the peoples of Southern India owes so little to the civilisation of the West as the Maravar. The forest of

* Mr. Nelson, in his *Manual of Madura*, has collected a few notes on the Maravar tribe, partly, from oral information, and partly, from Mr. Taylor's translations. The seven sub-divisions, however, which he gives of this tribe are obviously local and not tribal divisions; and create an apparent separation between the Maravar of this and of that locality, which does not in fact exist. Cf. *Manual of Madura*. Part II, p. 38.

Margo-antarom, which once hid Semban and his fellows, has fallen before the axe and plough. The tigers that once roamed over the whole country from the sea to the hills of Travankór, and made travelling dangerous, even to a comparatively recent date, have sought more remote lairs, where the wood-cutter seldom, and the ploughman never, comes. But the wild woodmen have altered little; they plough and pasture where before they hunted; and so the first stage in national progress has been passed. But the comforts and even the decencies of life have taken no hold on them. Few clothes cover their nakedness; miserable hovels hold their families; and even when emigration or local improvements fill their hands with money it rarely lasts beyond the gratification of the hour, and is seldom made the germ of permanent prosperity.

Of the crowds of labourers that flock to the coffee gardens of Ceylon; * and return with what is, or ought to be, a fortune, the mere fraction of a fraction ever turn their gains to account, in the purchase of land, the building of dwelling-houses, or the profits of trade. The burst of industry is succeeded by ease and idleness, until the hard-earned fortune melts away; and leads its late possessor bound to fresh service abroad, or to fresh drudgery in the cultivation of the home acres.

Accurate figures are so rare and so inaccessible in India, that the smallest mercies must be accepted with thankfulness. The only statistics we can here offer on the question of population, are the figures of the Rámnád census of 1871. The whole population of Rámnád was returned at 503,381, a total which gives 251·4 per square mile for the area of 2,400 square miles. Compared with the densely packed districts of rural Bengal, such a population seems sparse; but nothing is more certain than that the poor soils of Maravar cannot support more mouths than it now feeds, while the backwardness of agriculture and the insufficiency of labour, in good seasons, prove that the barrenness of the land is at once the cause and the effect of its unrelieved poverty. A bad season drives the poor cultivators away by drought and scarcity, and when a good time comes, and the earth only wants cultivation to make it smile with crops, the men and cattle that should till it are not at hand. The season is lost, the fields are choked with weeds; and the tanks mined beyond repair. Add to these natural influences the pressure of unimproving landlords: to whom the collection of this year's rents is everything, and the risk of imperilling the prosperity of a whole village goes for nothing; and we may cease to wonder that the latter days of Marava have been very little; that while all India has taken long strides towards social

* More than 70,000 labourers emigrated to Ceylon from the Rámnád and neighbouring districts in 1871-

72! The best road in Rámnád (as in Scotland) is that which leads out of it!

and agricultural improvement, this poor corner of the country has gone rapidly backward. There are to-day fewer men in Marava than there were a century ago, there is less wealth and less prosperity; its roads are no more and no better than they then were; the tanks and channels show by their present mines their former excellence; and the seaports, that were then rich and flourishing, are now crumbling piles of deserted ruin. In this picture there is not one word of exaggeration: but this is not the place for the analysis of causes, and the fixing of responsibilities. It is only in passing that we note the present fortunes of this old tribe and their unfortunate country. ..

Between the legendary story of the Maravar country, which springs from the connexion of Rāmeswarau with the incidents of the Rāmāyanam, and the accuracy of modern chronicles, there is a wide interval of time, and an unsatisfied dearth of record. With the exception of a certain share which this coast region of Southern India took in the fortunes of Ceylon, and to which we alluded in a former article, the Maravar country took no part in national affairs and has, therefore, no place in national history before the middle of the 17th century. This is a statement which, as we are aware, will be contested, for there are those who can accept, with wondrous faith, claims the most unsupported, and assertions the most improbable in reference to family histories and dynastic chronicles. To put the matter shortly, the facts are these:—from the middle of the 17th century a connected chronicle exists of the Rāmnād dynasty, which records briefly, but clearly, the dates and circumstances of each reign; the relationship of the regnant Setupati to his predecessor and successor; the conquests that he achieved; and the titles that he won; and further, there are buildings and inscriptions, sufficiently well attested, which bear the names of some Setupatis in the 17th century. That being so, there is no difficulty in accepting the family or rather tribal history, during two and a half centuries. The evidence, however, which is offered us to support more remote events in the life of the family, is of a wholly different character. There are no documents, though this might be pardoned; but there are no buildings nor inscriptions,* nor anything actual and tangible whatever, to attest the power and even the existence of the princes of Rāmnād, prior to the 17th century.

This negative evidence must be admitted to be of some force; and of positive evidence per contra there is some, though not much, which tends to render it extremely doubtful whether, prior to the point named, the house of Rāmnād had any political

* With one doubtful exception gives the date of Salivahana 1351, in the Rāmeswarau Temple, which A.D. 1429.

existence whatever. There may, and, indeed, there must have been some tribal head of the Maravar, but that he had the territorial power, which he afterwards acquired and has held during the last two centuries, or anything analogous to it, appears to us very doubtful indeed, and for these reasons:—

The local chronicle converts the savage Semban, the last of his race, who alone was spared by Rāma, into Raghunādha Setupati; and then proceeds to record that a number of Setupatis ruled over the country, after the said Raghunādha Setupati, and got possession of many forests with the permission of the Pandyan Rájás; but their relationship to the original Setupati is not known. In this vague strain the chronicle continues to record various titles conferred on successive Setupatis (who have neither names, dates, ancestors, nor descendants), by the Chola and Pandya Rájás, in recognition of warlike services. This system of making history has, at least, the merit of simplicity. A marvellous title is conferred upon the family of which the remote ancestry is to be distinguished. Some member of the race becomes 'Founder of the Pandyan Kingdom' or 'Conqueror of all Lands, and Retainer of all Conquests' or 'Lord of Lanka and Hunter of Elephants'; and, straightway, an incident is invented to explain the title, but without the embarrassing conditions of place and time!

Nor is this the only defect in these annals. When we come to examine these pre-historic incidents, we find that they make history repeat itself with marvellous exactitude. Thus, a pre-historic Raghunādha Setupati wages war with a nameless Chola king, and as the result of his complete victory annexes not, as might have been expected, an important division of the Chola kingdom, but only the Pudukottri country, which is the small principality which marches with Rámnád on the North. But we know that a historical chief of Rámnád, Vijaya Raghunādha Setupati, did early in the 18th century annex the districts of Pudukottri, Aradongi, and part of Tanjore after a campaign in which he completely defeated the Mahratta Rájá of Tanjore. This campaign and conquest are authenticated by independent evidence of a Jesuit Missionary, then resident in the Maravar country, and one can scarcely resist the belief that the chronicler has simply woven an old web out of new threads, and antedated, by several centuries, the real occurrences of modern times. The same identity of incident is remarkable in the record of Ceylon campaigns. The Raghunādha Setupati, for they all bear the same name in these early stories, who conquered Lanka, and was known as the 'Hunter of Elephants,' is only the prototype of a historical chief of the family, who, undoubtedly, undertook or assisted in a modern war between the mainland and the island.

Space and our readers' feelings warn us not to detail further these trivial inventions of a family chronicler. One more ground of our incredulity will suffice, and, this is—that when the historical point is reached, when real political chieftains of the Maravar country appear on the scene, and demand a place in national history, they obviously appear as new actors on an unbroken field. And to conceal this novelty, to connect the new dynasty with old times, a story has been woven round the birth of the first historical prince, Udeigan Setupati, an Arthurian legend, which tells how he was found by a king lying under a bush, and guarded by a snake that shielded the marvellous boy from the sun with its erect hood. If the youth had sprung from a royal line, if he only continued the long descent of an immemorial house, what need was there for this legend? But if the chronicler had to explain the rise of a modern family, and the origin of an obscure race of princes, what more natural than to conceal those humble beginnings under a veil of fable; and to prove that the modern family was only the restoration, under divine favour, of an illustrious house?

To doubt the authenticity of the dynastic chronicle is by no means to deny the antiquity of the race. Criticism of the story of Rāma and Sembau would obviously be labour lost; but there is every reason to believe that the Maravar tribe is the aboriginal race of the extreme south coast of India; and that though they never completely covered the country, but only occupied certain portions of it, the other races, castes as they are vulgarly called, that have settled round them are all of later occupation than the Maravar. If this be so, it is remarkable, that so far from being in a state of decay since the incursion of later settlers, the Maravar have only during the last two centuries, attained the prime of national life, and have only lately won their way to political importance.

The dynasty founded by Udeigan Setupati, in 1600, reached the height of its power during the 18th century, and rising on the ruins of the Madura dynasty of Noyakkar established a power which for nearly a century was absolutely independent along its own seaboard, and which often won the actual as well as the titular superiority over neighbouring princes. The power of the princes of Rāmnād was thus the assertion of tribal independence for the oldest race in Southern India; and restored political pre-eminence to a tribe, which was able, in 1780, to put an army of 40,000 men into the field, but which had till then been the immemorial vassals of the Pandya, and Vijayanagar, and Penukonda and Madura dynasties. Such a destiny is so far different from the ordinary fate of peoples in India, that it may reward some attention; and, in another chapter, we may try

to trace the story of the Maravar country during the last three centuries.

The sources from which we have drawn our acquaintance with the history of the Maravar country and tribe, as well as of the dynasty that ruled them, are so far original that it may be doubted whether they have hitherto been tested by mutual comparison and criticism. There is first the literature of the country, which comprises the *Stata Puranam* of Rameswaram attributed to Suta Rishi, a disciple of Vyas; as well as the *Ramanada Puram Charitram* or official chronicle of Rámnád, of which the one claims an immense antiquity, while the other pretends to be no older than it is, perhaps, 150 years. There are Sasanams-inscriptions on temples and other buildings which owe their foundation to the piety or benevolence of Rámnád princes. There is last, and most satisfactory of all, the independent testimony of the Jesuit Missionaries, resident in Marava, beginning with a scanty allusion by Tovice himself, in the middle of the 16th century, and succeeded after an interval of a century, by the connected narrations of De Viegra Beschi and Martin and their followers, from 1680 to the present day. For the events of the last two centuries there are ample and trustworthy chronicles; but just at the point where legend ends and history begins when the family and country are rising from obscurity into prominence, and we desire to trace the rise, and to see its origin and impulse, information fails, and we are groping in the dark. Among such scanty materials for connected narration it is hard to avoid wandering hither and thither, like a child who springs from rock to rock among the pools of the sea shore, gathering here a shell, and there a bright weed, guided by no pathway, but going where he spies a new treasure, and where he hopes to find dry foot-hold amid the sea.

We have already stated our reasons for rejecting the claim to antiquity asserted by some chroniclers on behalf of the ruling family of the Maravar country, the Setupati of Rámnád. Those records leave upon us the impression that their authors created the heroes whose praise they sing, and rather invented subjects for history, than wrote the history of real men. The authority, however, that can be quoted in favour of this high antiquity is undeniably respectable. Professor Wilson has recorded an opinion that the Setupatis of Rámnád established their independence of the Pandyan dynasty of Madura as early as 1380; but the only narratives upon which he founds this belief are the family chronicles now under examination, and to which all the objections previously taken apply with full force. If the dynasty was independent and powerful five centuries ago, why are its records clear and connected during only the last

two centuries? . Why, moreover, is there a total absence of monumental records of this "old and independent" dynasty? The first instinct of a ruling house in India was to write its name in stone, and to preserve its memory in forts and temples. The traditions of Vijayanagar are as green to-day as its power was a real power centuries ago; there stand the walls of the city, the battlements of its forts; and the cloisters of its temples; and the traveller can satisfy himself by the magnificence of the ruin, how powerful was the life that sank into so splendid a sepulchre.

The buildings of Madura, too, attest the wealth and power of the kings of Pandya; for not a temple rears its head unsung, and even a crumbling ruin will preserve the name and fame of its founder. If then the Maravar country is wholly destitute of buildings of antiquity, such as a royal house would leave behind it, the fact is significant and cannot be overlooked. It must be more than a coincidence that during the last two centuries, for which the family of the Setupatis has been historically powerful, almost every member of the dynasty has left a temple or a palace or a fort to mark his power and perpetuate his name; but that not a building stands nor a ruin remains of which the appearance or traditions argue greater antiquity. And where should we look for monuments of the piety and power of the family, if not in the neighbourhood of the holy shrine, with which the origin and fortunes of the race are identified; where would the princes of the country of Rāma most naturally hasten to illustrate the splendour of their race, if not to Rāmeswaram, the home of their tribal hero. In the buildings of Rāmeswaram we may, therefore, expect to find a chronicle, more lasting than brass, of the successive generations of the Setupati dynasty. Nor shall we be disappointed if we clear our minds of preconceived ideas of antiquity that is respectable but not historical, and accepting the facts as they present themselves refuse to wander elsewhere in vain search for facts.

It is, therefore, our present purpose to collect on paper (as we have endeavoured to collect in actual wanderings, from corner to corner, of the Maravar country) the evidences that exist in buildings and inscriptions to illustrate the past history of the Maravar tribe. Such a search can scarcely be made in vain. The legends and traditions, from which the history of India must some day be written, as it has never been written yet, weave themselves and twine most thickly round temples; and of all the shrines of Southern India none is so famous for, none is so sacred, as Rāmeswaram.

A consensus of authorities supports the claim of Udeiyan Satupati to have been the first of the restored line of Rāmnād princes, and to have been succeeded, after a reign of sixteen or seventeen years, by his son, Kúltan Setupati.

• These are accordingly the earliest names commemorated by inscriptions on the walls of Rāmeswaram. The first Sasanam is cut on a stone in the floor of the "Virushaba Mantapam" or portico, and runs as follows:—

"The Sila Sasanam that was inscribed by Rāma and laid in the 'naga tirlam' (snake-well) was taken and set up in the nirta mantapam of Sri Rāmanāda Swāmi's temple by Udeiyan Setupati Kata, Tevor and the Arya Mahratta Brahmans who are the managers and attendants of Rāmanāda Swāmi's temple on the conspicuous day of the star Hasta, the 21st of Veigasi, which was the full-moon-day of thirteen hundred and fifty one of Salivahana." Then follow some Sanskrit slokaks purporting to be the contents of Rāma's own sasanam; which we will not impose on the credulity of our readers. Both inscriptions are in modern Tamil character, and, considering the indifferent quality of the stone, in fair preservation, so that there is no doubt about the reading of the inscription. The careful enumeration of the nationality and functions of the Arya Brahmans leaves little doubt as to the authorship of this writing; but the only thing in the inscription that calls for remark is the date assigned to Udeiyan Setupati. Salivahana 1351 corresponds to the year A.D. 1430; a date which would carry back the restoration of the line of Setupatis four centuries and a half, and confirm the correctness of Professor Wilson's opinion that the dynasty became independent about the end of the 14th century. If this date is correct our doubts must be abandoned, and the authenticity of the family chronicles upon which the claim to high antiquity is based, must be admitted. It is, therefore, fortunate that in another inscription within the same enclosure we find material for criticism of the date assigned to Udeiyan Setupati. That inscription is cut on a stone in the fourth tier of the North wall of the inner court; the second enclosure, within which stands the Garbha Griham, or holy of holies. It is also written in the modern Tamil character and is perfectly decipherable. Its terms are:—

"In the year 1545 Salivahana, called Rudent Kari, in the month Masi, on the auspicious Wednesday, the 29th day, Udeiyan Setupati, Kata Tavor's son, Kúttan Setupati Kata Tevor charitably within the first enclosure of Rāmanāda Swāmi, the Sacred promenade and Arruda mantapam completely built."

To the date herein fixed, which corresponds to the year 1624 A.D., there is no objection in history. We know that Kúltan Setupati succeeded his father Udeigan Setupati in 1621, and reigned for about fourteen years. This is historical; but that which is neither historical nor probable is that the Setupati of the first inscription really flourished as early as 1430, for the

family. chronicles only record one Setupati to have borne the name of Udeiyan, and if this Udeiyan was the father of Kúltan, who succeeded in 1624, and who caused this inscription to be made in 1624, he cannot have reigned for 198 years; we are thus obliged to abandon the early date altogether.

The other inscriptions of Rámeswaram add nothing to our knowledge of the older members of the Setupati line; but almost every successor of Kúltan Setupati has reared a portion of the temple buildings. Two inscriptions purport to have been written by the hero Rám, but they bear no date of the year of inscription. The only other Sasanam that calls for remark is the following stanza carved on a stone near the Sitatnbara Narasnam gate. It is written in the modern Tamil character, and runs as follows:—

Sél konda Váriyilongésan vémbali tíru munnál mál konda, koyil Ramésar ádal seya montapattei núl konda, norsagar ayiratôdeinuttirendân mél konda, nálil muni Ramanâton vititanane.

It may be rendered literally thus:—

“Before the atrocity of the King of Lanka, whose sea is full of Sél fish, could be avenged, that Mantapam, where Ráma played in the temple seen by Vishnu, by Narsagar, who knew architecture, in the 1520th year, on the aforesaid day did Muni Rámanatan have built.” The hermit Rámanatan, who is thus stated to have flourished in A.D. 1599, is otherwise unknown to fame; but the frequency of record that the buildings of Rámeswaram were being gradually erected by the efforts of ascetics and princes, about the beginning of the 17th century, is noteworthy as evidence of a local power and activity which then, for the first time, began to make themselves felt. These inscriptions record the erection of some of the interior and less modern buildings of this famous shrine. The inmost, oldest, and holiest of all, differs from all the rest, both in its material and history. The Garbha Griham, or holy of holies, is stated by the Brahmans of Rámeswaram, and they can have no motive for inventing so unpatriotic a tradition, to have been built by Para Sakhara Rájá, King of Kandy, in Ceylon.

The date assigned to the erection of the Garbha Griham by Para Sakhara Rájá of Kandy rests upon local tradition alone, based upon no document or inscription now extant. This date is given vaguely at Salivahana 500—600 by our informant, the Priest of Rámeswaram, but it did not appear to represent anything more satisfactory to his mind than extreme antiquity, wholly beyond the reach of testimony. Such a tradition can, however, scarcely be a gratuitous invention; for there would be every conceivable motive to deny, and none to propagate, this record of foreign conquest. The constancy of intercourse between Ceylon and the

mainland is attested by the chronicles of both continent and island. Now as friendly allies and, again as hostile invaders, the armies of Lanka and Pandya crossed and recrossed the narrow sea, no longer spanned by Nala's floating bridge, but which still tempted adventurers from the dreary mainland to the green and fertile island. Early in the ninth century the troops of Pandya invaded Ceylon and from that time till the ascendancy of the Portuguese and Dutch the influence of the 'Damilo' (Tamil) strangers was unceasingly felt down to the 18th century.

Not was Ceylon without its occasional periods of power. The revival of the empire of Kandy under Prakrama Bahu, about the middle of the 12th century, extended the dominion of that energetic prince to the mainland of Marava. He is said "to have reduced the kings of Pandya and Chola, and to have founded a city (unnamed) within the territories of the latter."* We are not yet prepared to attempt to fix the date of this oldest building at Rameswaram, nor to identify its founder among the kings of Kandy. Certainly, an antiquity of many centuries is what we should, after close scrutiny, be very loth to claim for it; but as it becomes pretty clear from the inscriptions above quoted that the other buildings which immediately adjoin the central shrine have not more than two and a half centuries of life, the undoubted privity of the Garbha Griham might reconcile us to a claim to foundation in the 15th century, but certainly not earlier.

To say that this building has stood for twelve centuries appears to us preposterous. Its material, a dark compact limestone, not native to the locality, and expressly stated to have been transported for the building from Kandy, is sufficiently durable to have escaped the ravages that the breath of the sea has wrought in the miserable sand-stones of the modern buildings. But apart from historical considerations, the condition of the edges and ornaments of the building, which are not, it is true, in high relief, but are still perfectly clear and well served, points to a possible age of not more than four centuries.

The local tradition simply asserts that king Sekhara on visiting the site of Rama's temple, found the original shrine in ruins, and the Singam exposed to the weather, whereupon, he returned to Kandy and despatched materials and workmen who soon restored the ruined Garbha Griham.

It is also noteworthy that this, the earliest of Rameswaram shrines, is a building of almost insignificant proportions, neither lofty nor large. Beside the thousand-pillared cloister of Sifrangam, or the long aisles of Madura, this is a humble pile fit for the

* Emerson Tenant's "Ceylon."

presence of a village deity, rather than for the god-hero of a dynasty of powerful and independent princes. The later buildings speak a higher ambition, and a fuller power to achieve it; but this is the humble effort of poor builders.

It is, however, with the founders and patrons of the temple; rather than with its buildings, that our present concern lies. We may, therefore, pass from the sign of Ceylon power to the earliest evidence that the fame of the Rāmeswaram temple had attracted the pious gifts of the princes of Southern India.

The corridor that immediately surrounds the Garbha Gṛham is said to have been built by an early Nayakkar of Madura, but his date is not fixed more distinctly than by the limit that he preceded Visaynadhan of that line. The rise of the power of the Madura Nayakkar under Visanadhan carries us back no further than the middle of the 16th century; and thus the earliest local indication of the connection between Madura and its now holiest shrine refers to a time hardly three centuries ago.

This Prakāram, or corridor, is called "Kartakal Toravu Mantapam" or the Governor's open chapel, the title of Kartakal referring to the position of the Nayakkar as nominally viceroys of the Rājās of Vijayanagar. Next in date comes the common Mantapam or Lady chapel, of Kadamba Setupati, with the "Kadamba Vīlasom" or hall, of the same pious member of the Rāmnād family. These and the structures described in the inscriptions before quoted form a group which completes the inner and more properly religious buildings of Rāmeswaram.

Beyond these come more secular corridors, and cloisters which may be trodden by unholy feet and scrutinised by unbelieving eyes; and the whole is enclosed by the ordinary temple wall of modern form and unskilful construction. This hasty sketch of the Rāmeswaram temple is intended to serve only as a basis for the historical arguments, and not for their architectural study. We thus recur to the point from which we started on this descriptive digression, and contend that the absence of buildings, to which an age of more than three centuries can with safety be assigned (with the single exception of the Gorbha Gṛham, which may be four centuries old, but no more), and the constant erection by the Setupatis of Rāmnād, from Udeigan S., in 1600, to the last of the line, in 1750, are evidence (which to us seems strong, and to all must seem worthy of some weight) that the dynasty of Setupatis is a modern growth, of which the political existence began with Udeigan S., about 1600. Before that time the Poligar of Pokalur, may have been a local head of the Maravar, whose occasional raids and levies of blackmail and lifted cattle may have annoyed the country side. But there is not a trace, except in Brahmanical records, and not a sign real and tangible of

tribal organization or territorial influence, such as is asserted for the dynasty in mythical titles, and unverified victories. That the family traces its modern origin from the still obscure village of Pokalur, near the modern capital, Rámnád, is proved first by the myth of the marvellous boy, who grew to be young Udeigan S., and who was found sleeping beneath the erect cobra hood in the fields of Pokalur ; but also by the fact that every new head of the house has still to make his accession complete beyond cavi, by a second installation ceremony conducted in the ancestral home, when the young Setupati sits on the village stone seat, as all his ancestors have sat before him, and returns in state to Rámnád, the recognised successor of Semban and the hereditary vassal of Ráma.

JAMES BOYLE.

ART. III.—THE LITERATURE OF SNAKE-POISONING FOR THE PAST TWO CENTURIES.

MORE than two hundred years have elapsed since Francesco Redi—"a man of the widest knowledge and most versatile abilities, distinguished alike as scholar, poet, physician, and naturalist" (Huxley) and the originator of the doctrine of Biogenesis—first gave to Europe the result of his investigations into the nature of the Venom of the Viper. Previous to his time the grossest ignorance prevailed not only regarding the nature of the poison, but even as to the organ by which the snake inflicted its deadly injuries. It is true this great man did little more than correct the principal fallacies which prevailed; still, he it was who first directed men's minds to the subject, and collected by patient enquiry the crude material which Fontana, a century later, moulded into something like definite shape.

Physiology has, thanks to Chemistry and Mechanical Art, made rapid progress. For example, the theory of "*omne vivum ex ovo*" which was only very roughly demonstrated by Redi, is now demonstrated (and by many considered *positively* proved) by the most elaborate processes. What was in Redi's time a rough outline is now a well-filled-in picture, not quite complete in all its details, but a picture nevertheless; and the microscope has been the principal means by which the theory has been, and is still being, sifted to the most minute particular.

From time immemorial the Viper has been the symbol of Divine Power, not only in Asia and Europe but in other parts of the world. It was as sacred to the Egyptians and Arabians as it is now to the Indian Snake-charmer, and a man who could manipulate the reptile or was bitten without injury was honored as a god. We have an instance of this in the history of St. Paul, who, after being shipwrecked off the island of Malta, was received by the "barbarous people" of the island, and while lighting a fire was attacked by a Viper, which he shook off into the fire, whereupon "the people said that he was a god." The Psylli, an ancient nation of Africa, and the Marsi, in Italy, were supposed to be able to resist the fatal effects of the poison of the Viper, and the most marvellous stories are related of them, but, as in the case of our Indian Snake-charmers, there was evidently some trick at the bottom of their supposed immunity from the ill effects of the poison. Some supposed that the Viper would not touch them, and it was said that this was made a test of the legitimacy of their children. I have observed that nothing will induce a snake-charmer to kill a Cobra, especially if he happens to have been bitten by it. It is

recorded that the king of Calicut actually had huts built in which snakes might take shelter during the rains, and that the punishment awarded to any one who harmed these reptiles was death.

While the venomous snake was made the symbol of Divine Power, the non-venomous Snake was made the emblem of health, possibly on account of its shedding its skin every month. The Venom has been used for many purposes, especially, for those of war. The Scythians are said to have poisoned their arrows with the venom of the Viper and human blood, as the South American Indians did with the Wourara poison (this is supposed to contain snake-poison also); the Tartars are believed to use Viper venom in a similar way; and the Hottentots are known to use Cobra-poison for the same purpose. It is more than probable also, that many savage hill tribes of India apply Cobra-poison to their spears and arrows.

One of the most celebrated of those men, who have spent much of their time enquiring into the subject of snake-poisoning was Dr. Richard Mead,* the King's physician. In 1702, he published an account of his investigations which is pregnant with interest. The introduction to the essay is somewhat mystical, and contains not a few unsubstantial hypotheses, but this fact in no way detracts from the value of the more practical portion of the work.

* "Dr. Richard Mead was an eminent English physician, born at Stepney in 1625. At sixteen years of age he was sent to Utrecht, where he studied three years under the celebrated Grævius, and then choosing the profession of physic, he went to Leyden and attended the lectures of Pitcairn and Hermann. Having visited Padua in 1695, he took his degree of doctor of philosophy and physic, and returning home, he settled at Stepney and practised physic with great success.

In 1703, Dr. Mead was elected a member of the Royal Society, of which Sir Isaac Newton was then President. The same year he was elected physician to St. Thomas's hospital, and was also employed by the Surgeons to read anatomical lectures in their Hall. In 1707 his Paduan diploma for Doctor of Physic was confirmed by the University of Oxford; and on the death of Dr. Radcliff, Mead enjoyed the most extensive practice of any physician of his day. In 1727 he was made physician to George II. whom he had served in that capacity whilst he was

Prince of Wales. During almost half a century he was at the head of his profession, and he was admired no less as a man than as a physician. His reputation not only as a physician but as a scholar was so universally established that he corresponded with the principal literati in Europe. This great physician, naturalist and antiquary died on the 16th of February 1754." (*Vide Cyclopædia Britannica*).

The following anecdote is told of Mead. Woodward, the Professor of Physic at the Gresham College, having offered some insult to Mead so infuriated him that he drew his sword and ordered Woodward to defend himself—"The duel terminated in Mead's favour, as far as martial prowess was concerned, for he disarmed Woodward and ordered him to beg for his life."

"Never, till I am your patient," answered Woodward, happily. (*Vide "Doctors and Patients."*)

For* an interesting account of Dr. Mead, vide "A book about Doctors," by J. Cordy Jeaffreson.

Previous to the year 1700, the subject had engrossed the attention of Monsieur Charas and the Abbé Francesco Redi; the latter, especially being very enthusiastic in the matter. The theory which Mead adopted was that "venomous animals, when they bite or sting, inflict a wound and instil into it a drop of liquor which infects the fluid of the nerves, and by this means inflames the membranes," etc. In fact, he thought that the poison did not act through the blood, but directly through the nervous system. It is owing to his having enunciated this theory that we find no mention of a ligature having been used before Kempfer recommended, and Fontana adopted, it. Regarding his theory Mead says, "these experiments" (scanty and unsatisfactory to a degree) "upon the Viper poison and the blood are a sufficient confirmation of what has been advanced in the introduction that the nervous liquor only is affected by this Venom." After giving the symptoms, the severity of which, he states, depends on the climate, the season of the year, the greater or less rage of the Viper, the size of the reptile and animal bitten, and the depth of the wound, he proceeds to explain why snakes live so long without food. On this point he observes, "owing to the length of time the process of digestion takes, and to the fact that the blood of the snake is a grosser or more viscid fluid than that of most other animals; so that there is very little expense of it by transpiration, it is able to go without food for five or six months." Dr. Fayrer kept a *Dubois* for one year without food or water, and it was vigorous, as regards its power to kill, up to the last. I have had one in my possession for seven months, and it has not partaken of either food or water during the whole time.

Mead's microscopic examination of snake-poison is most curious. He examined it in the following manner: "I have oftentimes by holding a viper advantageously, and enraging it till it stuck out its teeth, made it bite upon somewhat solid so as to void its poison" which having put under the microscope, he proceeded to examine. "Upon first sight," he remarks, "I could see nothing but a parcel of small salts nimbly floating in the liquor; but in a very short time the appearance was changed and these saline particles were how shot out, as it were, into crystals of an incredible tenuity and sharpness, with something like knots here and there, from which they seemed to proceed, so that the whole texture did, in a manner, represent a spider's net, though infinitely finer and more minute; and yet so rigid were these pellucid *spiculae*, or darts, that they remained unaltered upon my glass for several months." What Mead really saw was nothing more nor less than the drying of the poison.

One would have imagined that the source from which the poison was derived could not have been very difficult to decide. It

appears, however, to have been otherwise, for Mead tells us that he performed an experiment "with a view to the controversy between Redi in Italy and Charas in France." The former affirmed that "the Venom of the Viper lay in the yellow liquor of the gums." The latter, in opposition to this theory, espoused a notion, advanced first by Von Helmont, and "placed it altogether in the enraged spirits of the creature, calling this yellow liquor, a pure innocent saliva," and citing experiments in proof of his theory. But, as Mead very rightly observes, "there is a great deal of difference in the success of the same experiments when faithfully and judiciously made, and when they are cautiously and timorously managed, lest they should overthrow a darling hypothesis." Redi's conclusions were confirmed by Monsieur du Verney and Drs. Areskine and Mead.

The treatment recommended by Mead is suction of the wound, an emetic with oil and warm water, and *Axungia Viperinæ* or Viper's fat. He did not believe in external management, "since it cannot prevent the sudden communication of the poison to the nerve." The following case in which suction of the wound was had recourse to, is well worth citing:—

"A man was bit on one of his fingers by a rattlesnake, just then brought over from Virginia. He immediately put his finger into his mouth and sucked the wound. His underlip and tongue were presently swelled to a great degree; he faltered in his speech, and in some measure lost his senses. He then drank a large quantity of oil ("a reputed antidote") and warm water upon it, by which he vomited plentifully. A live pigeon was cut in two and applied to the finger. Two hours after this the flesh about the wound was cut out and the part burnt with a hot iron, and the arm embrocated with warm oil. The man recovered."

The application of warm oil in cases of snake-bite appears to have enjoyed a great reputation in England, but the Physicians of the Royal Academy of Paris, after investigating the subject, pronounced the treatment ineffectual "any further than it might be a fomentation to the tumefied part." Mead attaches the greatest value to the *Axungia Viperinæ* or Viper's fat which was said to have been the remedy used by the English viper-catchers, from whom, after a great deal of trouble, Mead obtained the secret. He gives two experiments with a view of proving its efficacy, but both are vague and unsatisfactory. He indulges in a very wild theory to account for the efficacy of the treatment. The "cordial remedies" recommended are "Confect Ralegh and the salt of Vipers, or, in want of this, Ammonia." It is believed by many, even in the present day, that the Viper has about it the antidote to its own poison, and it was suggested to Dr. Fayer, by an American

who found "that crushed centipede and spirit when applied to the part always cured the injury done by a centipede," that a tincture of spirit and cobra should be tried in cobra-bite. The flesh of Viper, dressed as eels, was strongly recommended by Galen as a remedy for Elephantiasis* (Leprosy), and, it is said, that the flesh of the cobra was prescribed in Bengal for wasting diseases, and the physicians of Italy and France very commonly prescribed the broth and jelly of Viper's flesh for the same uses. It appears also to have been given in England, for Mead observes "the patient ought to eat frequently of Viper jelly, or rather as the ancient manuer was to boil Vipers and eat them like fish; or if the food will not go down (tho' really very good and delicious fare) to make use, at least, of wine in which dried Vipers have been digested six or seven days in a gentle heat." This was actually an acknowledged preparation of the London Pharmacopœia. About the middle of the seventeenth century, physicians were in the habit of prescribing compounds which would scarcely be relished by patients in the present day. Charles II's physician in ordinary, Dr. Thomas Sherley recommended, what he termed "Balsam of Bats" as a remedy for hypochondria; it was composed of "adders, bats, sucking-whelps, earth-worms, hog's grease, the marrow of a stag, and the thigh-bone of an ox." One would

* Since writing the above the following has come under my observation: "It is a common belief in many parts of South America—a country as besotted in superstitious observances and customs as Spain is—that the bite of the rattlesnake acts as a cure for elephantiasis. No one sane it may be said to be a specific for the disease, as all who have tried the remedy have died within a few hours of the experiment. The following case appears to have acted as a rude shock to the believers in the efficacy of the poison of the *Crotalus horridus*. José Machado, aged fifty years, originally a fine athletic man, had been laid up in the hospital of Rio de Janeiro for four years with elephantiasis in a form which obstinately resisted all treatment. The disease extended all over his body, producing such loathsome disfigurement that the unfortunate man eventually resolved to embrace the alternative of subjecting his hand to the fang of the deadly snake. Accompanied by his medical attendants (a circumstance that will strike European practitioners with

profound surprise), who had taken the precaution to secure a declaration in which the patient affirmed that he acted entirely of his own free will, and against their advice—the unfortunate man proceeded to a house in which a rattlesnake was kept caged. He put his hand to it and grasped the animal firmly, which immediately buried its fangs in his fingers, without, however, causing him any sensation of pain; a result no doubt due to the disorganized condition of his tissues. This occurred at 11-50 a.m. In less than an hour the hand had swollen, and his sight had become dim, while the pulse increased in frequency. Soon there supervened acute pains, and the respiration became laboured, with hæmorrhages and excessive evacuation of urine. During the progress of the symptoms little medical interference was attempted on the first day. He was given aqua ardente, the common spirit of the country, and made from the fermented juice of the sugarcane. He died next day at 11-30."—(*Lancet*, April 18th, 1874.)

scarcely have thought that such a mixture was calculated to give one an appetite. (*Vide* "A Book about Doctors.") The Santháls, Dhangars, Burmese, and many natives of India partake of snakes as food.

For more than half a century the subject of snake-poisoning appears to have received little attention, but in 1776, Felix Fontana, naturalist to his Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and a very able man, published his researches. While it is true that Francesco Redi and Richard Mead were the pioneers of the subject, the value of their researches was nothing as compared with that of Fontana's. He wrote a most elaborate work setting forth the results of his numerous experiments. He performed "more than 6,000 experiments, employed upwards of 3,000 Vipers and had bit more than 4,000 animals."

After entering into some anatomical questions regarding the fangs and the situation of the poison-gland, he informs us that Mead, and after him, Dr. James, asserted that the true reservoir of the poison was the sheath which covered the fangs, but he very clearly shows the position of the poison "vesicle" which is found above and behind the fang. He asserts that the poison of the Viper is not a poison to itself and in this statement he is confirmed by more recent authorities. Arguing from the fact that certain substances are known to be poisonous to certain animals, whilst far from being hurtful to some others, he thought that the venom of the Viper may not be a poison to all animals. "He made several experiments with a view of determining the point, and came to the conclusion that the poison was perfectly harmless to such cold-blooded animals as eecches, slugs, snails and three kinds of innocent snakes. Regarding the effects of the poison on warm-blooded animals he remarks, "I am not afraid to advance, that the venom of the Viper is a poison to all warm-blooded animals." "There is not," he says, "a warm blood animal in all Italy, that can withstand the effects of the poison."

In the latter assertion recent authorities will concur, but certainly not in the former. An innocent snake succumbs to the poison of a venomous one as certainly as does a dog, though not so rapidly, by reason of its anatomical conformation.

A curious tale is told by Fontana when discussing the taste of the venom. It appears that Redi had a Viper-catcher named Jacques who boasted that he could swallow spoonfuls of the venom of the Viper, and Redi declared that he had been seen to do so; he does not, however, assert that he was ever a witness to the fact. With all due deference to the memory of the late M. Jacques, one cannot place implicit confidence in his statements since he belonged to a class as celebrated for their tricks as the snake-charmers of Bengal. Very few people in India have

not heard of an instance in which a snake-charmer has offered to let himself be bitten by one of his snakes, in order to demonstrate the value of a certain antidote he possesses; the snakes in all such cases have had the poison-gland removed previously, so that although wounds are caused if the animal bites, no poison can be injected. The old Viper-catchers of Europe were in the habit of stopping up the passage and hole in the poison fang with wax, from a similar motive. Some such deception was, no doubt, practised by the Psylli and Marsi to whom I have previously alluded.

Fontana did not believe that the poison was absorbed by mucous membranes. Schlegel in his "Essai sur La Physionomie des Serpens" refers to the question. It has almost universally been held that the poison of snakes may be taken internally without any ill effects following, but Dr. Fayrer's experiments prove beyond doubt that the poison is not only absorbed, but sometimes proves fatal. I have made several experiments with a view to clearing up this point. I found that the poison kills if taken in large doses on an empty stomach. Schlegel says:—*Appliqué sur la langue il produit des sensations semblables à celles produites par la graisse; on peut même, suivant Fontana, le prendre l'intérieur, sans que se déclarent les moindres conséquences fâcheuses; cette observation cependant a été récemment contredite par les expériences que le Docteur Hering a faites à Surinam sur la nature du venin d'un crotale muet. Ce voyageur, prenant à différentes reprises des doses diverses de ce poison mêlé avec de l'eau, en ressentait les effets pendant huit jours et plus; ils se manifestaient par des douleurs dans le larynx et dans d'autres parties du corps, par une sécrétion multipliée de mucus dans les membranes du nez et de l'œsophage, par une diarrhée fréquente accompagnée de douleurs dans le rectum, etc.; à ces symptômes s'en joignaient plusieurs autres assez curieux, dus à l'influence que ce poison aurait, selon M. Hering, sur les facultés morales.* Mead maintained, on perfectly insufficient grounds, that the poison would not kill if taken internally; firstly, because human saliva was an antidote; secondly, that if it should pass into the stomach and intestines, "the balsam of the bile will be an antidote there, powerful enough to overcome its force." Dr. Mead quotes Galen in support of his statement that the poison is inert when taken into the stomach, and further refers to Lucan, who introduces Cato when marching the remains of Pompey's army through Africa, very wisely telling the soldiers almost choked with thirst, yet afraid to drink of a spring they came to, because full of serpents—

*"Noxia serpentum est admisto sanguine pestis.
Morsu virus habent, et fatum dente minantur
Pocula morte carent."*

Fontana's criticisms of the different theories then advocated are instructive, and occasionally amusing. The first reviewed is the spontaneous-coagulation-of-the-blood theory, which he disposes of by asserting that the blood is sometimes found fluid, which was a sufficient bar to the acceptance of the theory. Strangely enough, however, this appears to be the theory which he attempted to establish in after years, though the objection which he here advanced still held good and was a sufficient refutation of it.* He next deals with the hypothesis that the poison causes death by universal inflammation. He contended that *post mortem* appearances did not indicate anything of the kind. With reference to Mead's theory he denies that any salts are to be found in snake-poison, and holds that what Mead saw under the microscope must have been a "kind of skin from the mouth of the snake" (*epithetium*) "which he himself occasionally observed." The celebrated De Buffon, on the other hand, maintained that the "salts" observed by Mead were "animalcules," on which the activity of the venom, as well as other active poisons, depends. This looks like something approximating to a belief in the germ theory of disease. Fontana, of course, flatly contradicts De Buffon and insists that nothing of the kind exists, a fact of which he satisfied himself by frequent and repeated experiments. He appeals to posterity in the following strong and forcible terms:—"How many are there who judge after others! We may include in this number all those who are not capable of immediately consulting nature; who prefer hypothesis to fact, and eloquence to truth; a

* Fontana is not singular in having advanced a theory that was incompatible with facts which he had previously demonstrated by experiments. Melloni, in his latter days, advocated a theory entirely opposed to results he obtained practically in former years. Miller says, "A consideration of the preceding facts led Melloni to expect that by a combination of screens which allow light of a given colour to pass, radiant heat may be arrested; and, in fact, he thus effected an apparent separation of light from heat. By transmitting the solar rays, first through a glass vessel filled with water which arrests the less refrangible rays, and then through a plate of a peculiar green glass tinged by means of oxide of copper, which stops the more refrangible rays, a greenish beam was obtained, which was concentrated by lenses, and furnished a greenish light of great

intensity, but yet produced no perceptible heating action when it was allowed to fall upon the face of a sensitive thermoscope. A similar separation of light and heat seems to be effected in nature, in the light reflected by the moon. Melloni concentrated the rays of the moon by means of an excellent lens of a metre in diameter, and obtained a brilliant focus of light of one centimetre in diameter, the intensity of which consequently was nearly 10,000 times greater than that of the diffused light of the moon; upon directing this focus of light upon the face of a very sensitive thermomultiplier, only an extremely feeble indication of heat was obtained." Miller adds in a foot-note, "Notwithstanding these results, Melloni maintained during the latter days of his life the identity of the agent which produces light and heat."

severe and candid posterity will, without doubt, be astonished to find that there have been philosophers and naturalists in the eighteenth century, who, even in the most important particulars, have ventured to substitute conjecture to experiment; notwithstanding that the latter would have been made with as much ease, as it would have been decisive." Fontana, if alive, would be grieved to find that the world has not yet improved so much as he expected. What was a grievance in his day is equally a disgrace in the nineteenth century.

Fontana at first originated the theory that death was caused by the direct destruction of the irritability of the muscles; his reasons for abandoning this theory will be referred to subsequently. He was of opinion that opium acted in a similar manner. He disputed the fact that snake-poison in any way acted on the nervous system, but even, supposing him "to be of another opinion, his discovery of the proximate cause of death would lose no part of its importance, for whether the poison operates immediately on the nervous fluid, or on the muscular fibres, it is not less true that it kills by depriving the animal of all motion, and the muscles of the power of contracting." He maintained that the irritability of the muscular fibres was destroyed, not only during life, but after death.

In the year 1777, M. Sage, of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, published a pamphlet on the advantages of the volatile alkali (ammonia) as an antidote in cases of snake-poisoning which was first recommended to the faculty by Jussieu. This mode of treatment appears to have been founded on Mead's theory that the active principle of the venom was an acid salt. Fontana had already condemned the treatment, but he again performed a number of experiments before Dr. Troja, Member of the Royal Academy of Naples, and M. Jean Fabroni of Florence, and attached to the Cabinet of Natural History of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. After performing numerous experiments he again condemned the ammonia as useless, if not positively hurtful. The sentiments he then expressed may safely be repeated here. He observes, "I place the greatest importance on repeated experiments for I know of what weight the prejudice for a favourite hypothesis, and the authority of a celebrated writer are." It is more difficult to uproot error, than to establish truth, especially when the scientific reputation of an "authority" is at stake; every man may err, but more especially he who has some pet theory either to defend or to establish.

Fontana was under the impression that the skin was the principal agent in the absorption of the poison, that is to say, the cut edges of the skin. This is, however, erroneous; the poison is absorbed while lying in the arcolar tissue, and frequently, as in the

bite of the *daboia*, the poison is injected into the muscles. Fontana declares, notwithstanding his former theory, that in the event of the poison being injected directly into a muscle, it is never fatal. The experiments he cites to prove this are full of fallacies. Fontana made several experiments on various parts of the body, and came to the mistaken opinion that the conjunctiva does not absorb the poison. Dr. Fayrer has demonstrated, and I have also observed, that the poison is not only absorbed, but is frequently fatal. He took a great deal of trouble to prove that the venom of the Viper was neutral. Mead first, and Dr. James, Cantor, Laidlay and Dr. Harlan subsequently, asserted that the poison was acid: Fontana, Russell, and Schlegel, on the contrary, declared it was neutral. The fact is, as I have found by numerous experiments, that the fresh poison is acid, and that which has been kept for a few hours is neutral.

Although the measures taken by Fontana to ascertain the quantity of poison that must be injected to kill, were clumsy, owing to the want of appliances, the results obtained by him pretty nearly correspond with those I recently obtained. Fontana's deductions are somewhat wide of the mark. He found that the thousandth part of a grain of Viper's venom would kill a sparrow, and, taking this as a basis of calculation, he concluded that not less than twelve grains would kill an ox, and two and a half grains a man. As a fact, however, three grains are fatal to an ox. And one grain, to one grain and a half would, I believe, be sufficient to kill a man, though six grains are sometimes shed at one bite of a cobra. And I do not believe the poison of the larger Vipers and that of the Colubrine snakes, differ much in strength, quantity for quantity. The difference, if any, would, of course, be in favour of that of the Colubrine snakes.

While the average amount of poison possessed by a cobra is about two and a half to three grains, though it may be either more or less, the average amount possessed by many other snakes is not more than half a grain, sufficient to prove fatal to a child, and to give rise to serious, though, perhaps, not fatal, symptoms in a man. Here, then, we have one of the reasons of the favourable reputation of so many useless remedies.

It must now be acknowledged that the only fair test of any antidote to snake-poisoning in the lower animals is the employment of the dried poison in the smallest fatal dose, whereby plenty of time is afforded the remedy to manifest its effects.

The following are Fontana's deductions regarding the physiological action of the poison, and they are well worthy of notice.

First, he asserts, that the poison has no direct action upon the nerves—that they neither are affected, nor are they the vehicle by which any change is wrought in the animal. On the other

hand, it is proved, that the blood is the medium by which the body is affected. He, however, considered that the changes were on the blood alone, and that death was the result of its spontaneous coagulation. This theory is opposed to facts, as he himself states in the first part of his work. The heart, he says, is the last affected. This is certainly true when the smaller doses are injected, but in the larger, death occurs from the heart's being suddenly tetanized.

He modifies his theory regarding the effect of the poison on muscular irritability, and states: "I did not know when I wrote the first part of this work that the venom of the Viper has no action on the nerves, and that, when it is introduced into the blood, it kills an animal in a few instants. It is not that in effect the irritability is not diminished in the animal that has been bit, and that it is not even destroyed in a little time, but this is rather an effect than a cause, and is a consequence of the change caused in the blood by the venom rather than an effect of the venom on the muscular fibres."

There is an undoubted change in the blood (if only mechanical by the presence of the venom), but this change is certainly not spontaneous coagulation. On the contrary, the blood is generally found fluid. And although the venom may not act on an exposed sciatic nerve, because it is not capable of absorbing the poison, still it is quite different when the fluid on which this nerve depends for its vitality, is radically altered. Moreover, Fontana's experiments on the spinal cord seem to indicate that the poison certainly has some direct action on the nerve-centres, and experiments recently made by Drs. Fayrer and Brunton appear to prove beyond doubt that, on the one hand, the poison acts through the blood on the great nerve-centres, peripheries, and even the muscles themselves, leading to paralysis of the muscles of respiration, etc., and consequent death by asphyxia, and on the other hand, through the blood on the heart, causing it to cease to act in systole; these different results being dependent on the quantity of poison injected, and the manner of its injection.

The treatment that at present enjoys such a reputation in Australia, and which is generally believed to have originated with Dr. Halford, was in great repute in Italy nearly a century ago as the following extract from a letter* from Fontana to M. Gibelin will show:—

"It is very true that our Italian journals report cures by ammonia injected into the veins of persons bitten by the viper: and it is also true that these cases partake of the marvellous, and almost of the miraculous. It appears, moreover, that certain individuals have had great pleasure in assuring the public that a

* *Medical Times and Gazette*, August 23rd, 1873.

true specific against the poison has been discovered, that which I had sought in vain for many years, and which with philosophical candour I had declared the inutility of searching for. I must confess that it did not occur to me that I should find a remedy in *Medicina Infusoria*." Fontana made some experiments and found the treatment unsuccessful.

The subject of snake-poisoning attracted the attention of Dr. Patrick Russell in 1796. His book, which was published by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, contains drawings and descriptions of several snakes, venomous and non-venomous, but principally of the latter. Dr. Russell performed a number of experiments with kraits, cobras, daboias, and the *Trimereſurus virid*, but there is little of importance to notice. He brought the famous Tanjore pill very prominently before the public, but it does not appear that he placed much faith in its efficacy. He does not seem to have been very favorably impressed by the knowledge of the subject possessed by the members of his profession. He says: "It was a matter of surprise as well as of regret, to find so little known on the medical history of serpents in a country where much might have been reasonably expected; numbers of stories, it is true, were to be met with of the fatal effects, as well as of singular cures of venomous bites. But such were in general related from memory; the progress of the disease and succession of symptoms, had either not been attended to or were indistinctly recollected; the same story told at different times; was found to vary in material circumstances and the marvellous too often found place in the narrative. It is, therefore, to be wished that the medical gentlemen in India would in future bestow more attention on this subject than appears to have been done hitherto. Besides the Tanjore pill Dr. Russell recommends either immediate amputation or the ligature.

An impression prevails that the mangoose is proof against the poison of the cobra, but Dr. Fayrer has shown that this animal succumbs to the bite of a cobra as certainly as does any other animal. The mangoose, if left to itself to attack a snake, will invariably come off the victor, but if pushed on to the snake to make them fight, will probably be fatally bitten, as is recorded in a case by Russell.

A mangoose was made to approach a "*katuka rekula poda*"—Daboia—and was accidentally forced too near when the snake bit it on the shoulder, upon which, "it seized the snake by the neck and held fast for fifteen seconds, the snake all the while wreathing round the mangoose's limbs. The instant they were separated, the mangoose fell down on its side as if dead." It died in two hours and a quarter, and the snake in eight hours.

I have not seen it recorded that the mangoose gnaws out the

fangs of the snake, but it is a fact and has been witnessed by several gentlemen.

A mongoose was let loose in a room with a cobra. The latter was gliding about the room, when the mongoose went cautiously up to it and slightly touched it with its nose; the snake hissed gently, lifted its head, but still went gliding on. The mongoose again followed as if determined to make the snake lift its head, for the mongoose is far too wise to attack the snake while its head is on the ground. The snake at once turned round, balanced itself to strike and began hissing; it darted two or three times, the little mongoose just stepping on one side to avoid the blow, its eyes fixed intently on the enemy, its nose pointed and nostrils expanded and hair bristling, watching for an opportunity to make a rush and seize the snake. This skirmishing went on for some time; the snake at last made a dart but before it could recover itself was seized by the back of the neck by the mongoose, which immediately proceeded to *gnaw out the fangs on both sides*. It then gave the snake two or three shakes and let it go, again returning to the attack when the snake lifted its head, and so on until the snake was nearly killed. As I have before observed this was witnessed by several gentlemen to whom I afterwards showed the wounds caused by the gnawing out of the fangs. This was witnessed twice afterwards.

Russell is in error in stating that all cobra poison is exactly alike in appearance. The spectacled cobra which lives in dry places has viscid amber-coloured poison, while the keuntiah cobra, which is generally found in paddy fields, has a light-colored watery poison.

In the year 1799, we find Mr. Boag not only advocating the Abbé Fontana's treatment of snake-poisoning by the administration of nitrate of silver and nitric acid baths, but attempting to establish a theory whereby to account for the efficacy of the treatment. After telling us it would be an endless and unprofitable task to enumerate all the remedies that have from time to time been recommended, he details several which he considers the most worthy of notice. Amongst these he mentions human saliva which, "as we are informed by Seneca and the elder Pliny," enjoyed considerable reputation as a remedy in Viper-bite. He also refers to the snake-root recommended in both India and America. Ammonia which had been in great repute had apparently lost ground as it was then pretty generally acknowledged that it possessed no specific power, its only action being to stimulate the heart and vascular system to a more vigorous action, and, moreover, this stimulation was only temporary. These views thoroughly coincide with those of more recent authorities who have had experience in the matter. Arsenic is condemned as producing very violent results, and therefore being liable to cause

death. The only cases in which Mr. Boag considered it might be employed were the more desperate ones. Mercury is spoken of as deserving of trial, as "much good might be anticipated from its use," though it should be given in a more convenient form than was then prescribed.

Mr. Boag's theory was that the venom subtracted the oxygen of the blood, so leading to death, and he founds this theory on four arguments as he terms them; in some of which, however, I cannot concur. These four arguments are :—

1st.—"Man, and other warm-blooded animals, exposed to an atmosphere deprived of oxygen, quickly expire. The poison of a serpent when introduced into the blood also causes death, but, carried into circulation by a wound, and in very small quantity, its operation is comparatively slow and gradual."

2nd.—"The appearances on dissection in both cases are very similar, the blood becomes of a darker colour, and coagulates about the heart and large vessels, the irritability of the fibres is nearly in the same degree destroyed, and the body has a strong tendency, in both instances, to putrescency."

3rd.—"Dr. Mead mixed the venom of the viper, and healthy blood together out of the body, and he did not perceive that it produced any change in its appearance; this arose from his mixing a small quantity of the venom with a large quantity of the blood, but if two or three drops of venom be mixed with forty or fifty drops of blood, it immediately loses its vermilion colour, becomes black and incapable of coagulation."

4th.—"It is a very remarkable circumstance that the poison of the serpent has most power over those animals whose blood is the warmest, and the action of whose heart is the most lively; while, on the contrary, it is not a poison to the snake itself, nor in general to cold-blooded animals. The reason appears to be this; cold-blooded animals do not require a large quantity of oxygen to preserve them in health, this is evident from the conformation of their heart, and respiratory organs, as already mentioned."

Therefore, as I have before pointed out, Mr. Boag concludes that death from snake-bite simply arises from the abstraction of oxygen from the blood.

The first argument requires no special notice, but the second contains inaccuracies; the blood may or may not coagulate in cases of snake-poisoning, and it certainly does not generally coagulate about the heart and larger vessels, nor is there usually, in my experience, any particular tendency to rapid putrefaction in snake-poisoning; * not that I attach much value to the fact, nor do I

* I am aware that a few cases have been reported.

believe, that *general* decomposition is particularly rapid after death from suffocation. It is true that blood remains fluid if mixed with a large quantity of snake-poison, but it must be remembered that in the human body the relative dilution is not 3 to 50, but perhaps 2 to 9,600. The question of the condition of the blood as regards fluidity is not, however, of much importance except from a medico-legal point of view. It is a remarkable fact that while the blood of a dog poisoned by venom coagulates after death, that of a human being remains permanently fluid.

The fourth argument is most remarkable. Mr. Boag observes that a poisonous snake is protected from the effects of its own poison, by its physical conformation, which enables the animal to live with a very small amount of oxygen. Unfortunately for this argument, however, venomous and non-venomous snakes do not differ anatomically, and yet the venom of the former will kill the latter. Mr. Boag is also in error in stating that the poison is not generally fatal to cold-blooded animals. Although its action is, of course, somewhat slower, it is none the less fatal. I would not be understood to mean that de-oxygenation of the blood to some extent is not a result of snake-poisoning—I believe it is—but that it is not the cause of death.

The treatment, Mr. Boag recommends is interesting. The principle is the speedy oxygenation of the system, and the means to this end, are the following :—

“External treatment,” which may be divided into local and general; first, suction of the wound as recommended by Celsus. This measure should not be omitted though Mr. Boag does not think it is very successful. Mr. Boag evidently believed with Celsus that this proceeding can be adopted with perfect safety to the operator, but that it is not so, has been proved by Dr. Fayrer and others; undoubtedly, the risk is slight, but still it exists.

The next measures are the ligature and scarification of the wound, which should then be washed with a weak solution of lunar caustic and water, a warm bath acidulated with nitric acid just sufficiently to irritate the skin. This bath should be continued at intervals, and lastly, the administration of nitrate of silver in half-grain doses, and “a more highly oxygenated atmosphere might be breathed by means of a pneumatic apparatus adopted for the purpose as recommended by Dr. Beddoes.”

Curiously enough, after recommending the above, Mr. Boag made some experiments, every one unsuccessful. And yet we find him stating that “I am of opinion that the method of cure mentioned in the foregoing essay is most rational, and the most likely to succeed in preventing death as well as the other bad consequences which sometimes follow the bite of a serpent that is not mortal.”

It is difficult to understand on what grounds Mr. Boag comes to a conclusion so directly opposed to the result of his experiments.

In 1801, the ammonia treatment again found an advocate in Mr. John Williams. He evidently was a staunch believer in its efficacy, as he observes: "The following statement of facts relative to the cure of persons bitten by snakes selected from a number of cases which have come within my own knowledge, requires no prefatory introduction; as it points out the means of obtaining the greatest self-gratification the human mind is capable of experiencing, that of the preservation of the life of a fellow creature, and snatching him from the jaws of death, by a method which every person is capable of availing himself of." Professor Halford could not have written in a more laudatory tone of the system of treatment he so persistently advocates. As no system of treatment is complete without a theory, Mr. Williams stirs one up from the depths of his imagination, which, though somewhat weak and obscure, is still a theory. He observes that, "as the poison diffuses itself over the body by the returning venous blood, as proved by the effects of a ligature placed between the wound and heart, destroying the irritability and rendering the system paralytic, it is probable that volatile caustic alkali in resisting the disease of the poison, does not act so much as a specific in destroying its quality, as by counteracting the effect on the system by stimulating the fibres, and preserving that irritability which it tends to destroy."

In other words, the ammonia does not act chemically upon the poison, but it counteracts its effects physiologically. What these effects are and how the ammonia counteracts them, Mr. Williams does not inform us.

He then gives seven cases, of which only one terminated fatally.

The first case was only a supposed case of snake-bite. The second was that of "an old woman of the Brahman caste, who was bitten between the thumb and finger, by a cobra." She became "speechless and convulsed, with locked-jaws, and a profuse discharge of saliva running from the mouth." Mr. Williams gave her two drachms of "volatile caustic alkali spirit, when she evidently got better" and "perfectly recovered in about half an hour. The Brahman of the house would not allow the snake to be killed."

The third case is not deserving of notice.

The fourth case is the following:—"In July 1784, the wife of a servant of mine was bitten by a cobra di capello on the outside of the little toe of her right foot. In a few minutes she became convulsed, particularly about the jaws and throat, with

continued gnashing of the teeth. She at first complained of a numbness extending from the wound upwards, but no ligature was applied to the limb. About sixty drops of the volatile caustic alkali spirit were given to her in water, by forcing open her mouth which was strongly convulsed: in about seven minutes the dose was repeated, when the convulsions left her, and in three more she became sensible and spoke to those who attended her. A few drops of spirit had also been applied to the wound. The snake was killed and brought to me, which proved to be a cobra di capello."

The other cases are equally wonderful except the last which terminated fatally!

The administration of ammonia was again advocated in 1809, by Dr. Macrae, who was himself bitten by a cobra; he took "thirteen spoonfuls of the ammonia."

In 1825, Mr. Breton performed a series of experiments with the cobra, daboia, and bungarus fasciatus, and arrived at the following conclusions:—

Firstly.—"Although the effect of the venom of a serpent may be for several hours very evident, an animal is capable, without any remedy whatever, of surviving its action; for the day after being bitten, the dog remained several hours apparently in a dying state, but in the course of the following day recovered perfectly."
Secondly.—"After the first* or second emission of the poison it becomes too weak to destroy even a whelp three parts grown."

Here Mr. Breton has mistaken the quantity for the quality; it is not that the poison is *too weak*, but the quantity *too small*. But we have instances on record in which several dogs have been killed in succession by one cobra, and a case is cited by Dr. Chevers, in which three men died, and one became much affected by the bites of one krait.

Thirdly.—"An innoxious snake can be killed by the venom of a poisonous snake."

Fourthly.—"Rabbits and pigeons are killed in two or three minutes, and full-grown dogs in fifteen or twenty."

Fifthly.—"A poisonous snake is unsusceptible of the poison of another snake." Mr. Breton was evidently a very careful observer.

Vol. II of the "Medical and Physical Transactions of the Calcutta Society," contains an article "on the treatment of persons bitten by venomous snakes," by Donald Butter, Esq., M.D. The author has such faith in his mode of treatment that he has, I believe, recently reprinted his paper and circulated it gratis. After referring briefly to the essays by Messrs. Williams and Boag, he says: "As I thought it probable that some of my professional brethren, who have had opportunities of seeing such cases, might have been

in the habit of employing a more active treatment, I endeavoured in a letter printed in the Calcutta *John Bull* of the 20th October 1823, to draw their attention to the general advantage which would arise from a publication of the results of their practice." To this letter there appears to have been little response by the medical profession. Dr. Butter recommends the administration of opium, brandy, and sulphuric æther, and this treatment is founded on the hypothesis that the heart and arterial system are principally affected. In this theory, however, I cannot concur, as it is in overwhelming doses only—when no remedy would be of the slightest avail—that the poison acts principally on the heart, "causing its action to cease in systole" (Fayrer and Brunton). This plan of treatment appears to have been advocated by Mr. Latta. Dr. Butter besides recommending extreme caution, also speaks favourably of the use of the ligature, dry-cupping and suction of the wound. I have tested the efficacy of this treatment on the lower animals, but found it as unsuccessful as Fontana did nearly a hundred years ago. Dr. Butter admits that the species of snake "was ascertained in one or two instances only," but *supposes* they were cobras. The following case quoted by Dr. Butter is interesting, but some of the symptoms, so far as they are described, appear to be more the result of the treatment than the effects of snake-poisoning.

The case is as follows :—

"April 22nd, 1825.—Soobhan Khan, *Sipahes*, 6th Company, Goruckhpore Light Infantry, aged about 18 years. About 55 minutes after midnight bitten in the left instep and shin by a snake *supposed*, (the italics are mine) from its size, to be a cobra de capello, at one o'clock five minutes, A.M., and when brought to me, was speechless and insensible, but had the power of moving his legs. Ligature instantly applied, and R. Opii drachm 1 with brandy ounce 1, and spirit menth, pip 10 minims, administered; pulse hardly perceptible either in the heart or arteries; surface cold, made to walk about between two men. At 1-10 minutes, heat and circulation returning. At 1-15 minutes, syncope. Gave a second dose as above, soon after which circulation again returned, and at 1-20 minutes he was perfectly well and described very clearly the manner in which the accident happened. He now walked about unassisted; and at 1-35 minutes, half an hour after he took the first dose, I removed the ligature as I had been in the habit of doing when the patients had completely recovered. At 1-40 minutes he suddenly fainted; ligature was instantly re-applied, and a third dose, as above, given and the wounds well washed with hot water. Circulation still continuing very weak with foaming at the mouth, occasional syncope, and convulsive twitches of the arms; at 1-45 minutes a fourth, and at 2 A.M. a fifth dose, all in the above proportions were given; after which he rapidly recovered

from all symptoms of collapse, but still complained of giddiness which I now ascribed to the medicines as his pulse was full and regular" (evidently the man was becoming intoxicated). "His wounds were again well washed with hot water, and at about 3 A.M. he became slightly delirious" (? intoxicated) "his imagination being haunted with the idea of a snake coming to attack him." This youth took 500 minims of tincture of opium. Dr. Butter concludes by stating that he gave the man three ounces of Epsom salts. As far as one can judge from the description, I must admit that this case is as unlike a genuine case of snake-poisoning as any I have ever seen or read. Dr. Butter, after trial, condemns Mr. William's treatment, the administration of ammonia, which was said by him never to fail, as being sound in principle, but unsuccessful in practice; while it is true that the natives of India suppose that opium-eaters are more proof against snake-poison than other people, there can be no doubt from recent experiments carried on in the most systematic manner that the drug is useless in cases of snake-poisoning.

A curious effect is said sometimes to follow the bite of a snake:— "In 1855 Mr. Souberran published the case of a gentleman who having been bitten by a viper in the year 1849, asserted that he still experienced *attacks of rather severe pain in the arm bitten with sensations of lassitude and malaise; these symptoms recurring every year in the month of April* and lasting a month.

Dr. Demeurat relates the following instance of a similar occurrence:— "A woman was bitten by a viper in the right forearm on the 28th May 1824. She suffered at the time from nausea and vomiting, headache and chilliness. The arm also became swollen and a dark red patch, covered by a large bleb, formed at the spot which was bitten. This affection extended across the forearm, and a large quantity of serosity exuded daily from the furrows between the bullæ. Beneath the raised epidermis was a thick false membrane. After eighteen months this membrane became black and dry and the woman tore it off in one piece. The skin beneath was red, but soon recovered its healthy appearance. This was in November 1826. The next year on May the 28th the eruption returned, and continued till November. *These phenomena repeat themselves each year, commencing about the same day.*" Dr. Demeurat does not say that he has witnessed the phenomena. ("Year Book of Medicine and Surgery," 1863.)

This annual recurrence of symptoms does not appear to be confined to cases of snake-bite, as Livingstone ("Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa") mentions a case of the bite of a lion, in which it occurred. Livingstone says, after describing a fight with a lion, in which he took the most prominent part, "a wound from this animal's teeth resembles a gunshot

wound ; it is generally followed by a great deal of sloughing and discharge and pains are felt in the part periodically ever afterwards. I had on a tartan jacket on the occasion, and I believe that it wiped off all the virus from the teeth that pierced the flesh, for my two companions in this affray have both suffered from the peculiar pains, while I have escaped with only the inconvenience of a false joint in my limb. The man whose shoulder was wounded, showed me *his wound actually burst forth afresh on the same month of the following year.* This curious point deserves the attention of inquirers."

The famous snake-stone has long been in repute in Asia, but it was never credited with any efficacy in cases of viper-bite in Europe. In 1662, some specimens were taken from India by three Franciscan friars and deposited in the museum of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, where they came under the notice of Redi. It was believed that the stone was found in the head of a snake. Taverini and Kempfer, however, considered it to be an artificial fabrication. Dr. Alexander Stuart stated (1749-50) that it was made of the burnt bones of the small buffalo. Captain Herbert says, he obtained one from the people of Jowalins, who said it was found with detritus in the valley of the Satlej. Calculi taken from the stomach and intestines of different animals are sometimes used as snake-stones. There are, no doubt, many kinds, all equally useless.*

Dr. Davy, in 1839, published an account of some experiments he performed with some of the poisonous snakes of Ceylon (*Physiological and Anatomical Researches*) ; and in his "conclusions and general remarks" points out that "the principal seat of the diseased action are the lungs," but he appeared to think that this action is confined to cases of viper snake-bite. He believed that the virus of colubrine snakes, acts primarily and principally on the blood and muscles, tending to coagulate the former, and convulse and paralyze the latter. He was erroneously of opinion that the bite of the daboia is generally more dangerous than that of the cobra.

* Dr. Davy truly says :—" Too often, medicines have got into repute as antidotes from being given in slight cases, in which recovery would have taken place without medical treatment,—beneficial changes that were due merely to the preservative powers of the constitution. The reputation that many Indian medicines, and especially that snake-stones have acquired, affords striking proof of the preceding remarks : of three different kinds of these stones which I have examined, one consisted of partially burnt bone,

another of chalk, and the third principally of vegetable matter ; this last resembled a hazock. All of them (excepting the first, possessed of a slight absorbent power) were quite inert, and incapable of having any effect, exclusive of that which they might produce as superstitious medicines, on the imagination of a patient." The first kind of stone referred to by Dr. Davy was manufactured by the Monks of Manilla, who carried on a lucrative trade in them with Indian merchants.

At no period has the subject of snake-poisoning received so much attention as it has during the past eight or ten years. Drs. Fayrer and Shortt in India, Dr. Weir Mitchell, in America, Dr. Halford, in Australia, and Dr. Brunton—in conjunction with Dr. Fayrer—in England, have all been labouring in the hope of finding that which has baffled the ingenuity of ages, and which, if found, would be an inestimable boon to mankind. Although no antidote has been discovered, much good work has lately been done as regards the physiological action of the poison, and if there be in existence a remedy, the more intimately we become acquainted with the *modus operandi* of snake-poison, the more likely are our efforts to be crowned with success.

According to Drs. Fayrer and Brunton, who lately read an exhaustive paper on the subject before the Royal Society, the poison may kill in either of four ways :

Firstly.—By tetanizing the heart, and so stopping the circulation of the blood.

Secondly.—By paralyzing the muscles of respiration, and so giving rise to asphyxia.

Thirdly.—By a combination of the two former conditions.

Fourthly.—By giving rise to *septicæmia*.

It is much to be regretted that some experimenters have so unwisely advocated, and in the strongest terms, a certain treatment which has not stood the test of an impartial investigation ; and it seems difficult to understand, granting them honesty of purpose and common sense, how they could have arrived at conclusions so diametrically opposed to facts.

I am not at liberty to enter more fully into an account of the theories, &c., of the more recent experimenters, as I should be anticipating the report of the Commission appointed by Government, of which I am a member. I hope, however, that this humble attempt to put into a concise form all the available literature of the subject, will be a means of saving future investigators from falling into the very common error of advocating and expounding exploded theories, and perpetuating exposed fallacies.

VINCENT RICHARDS, M.D.

ART. IV.—THE PAL KINGS OF BENGAL.

By E. VESEY WESTMACOTT, B.A., OXON., BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE,
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SEARCHING through the literature of India, where each generation has taken the legends handed down from the preceding one, and passed them on to its successor with a garnish of its own, with new form and colouring, and, frequently, lengthy interpolation, designed to strengthen, by the weight of false tradition, the political party or class to which the editor belonged, we seek wearily for truth, for even a trace of truth, and we find scarcely an indication that a tradition of history remains. Few though they be, there are such indications, alongside of utterly groundless fables. For instance, in the quarrel between Vasishta and Viswamitra, recorded in the *Ramayana*, the list of tribes called into existence by the marvellous cow, as allies of the Brahman priest against the military Kshatriya doubtless preserves a tradition of a struggle in India in which those foreign tribes were really invited to interfere. Even the fruitless attempt made by the vulture Jatayus to rescue the wife of Rama from her ravisher may indicate a war between parties to whom no clue remains.

Such are, however, the scanty materials for the history of India, which her own literature provides, but we have also, for times before the Mahomedan conquests, some traditions preserved by Mahomedan writers of a later age, and rare enough, but where they exist most valuable, some contemporaneous inscriptions in stone, some grants engraved on copper-plates, and some notices by foreign travellers, Greek, Arabian, or Chinese who, from time to time, visited India.

For the period of the Pal dynasty in Bengal, these fragmentary pieces of evidence are unusually numerous, and more than one attempt has been made to compile from them a consecutive account of the dynasty. That of Christian Lassen, in the third volume of his *Indische Alterthumskunde* is a work of laborious research, and even those who do not feel inclined to accept his ingenious deductions, must acknowledge gratefully the mass of evidence which he has brought together. Baboo Rajendro Lal Mitra, whom I have to thank for references to records of this dynasty in the *Asiatic Researches*, has done similar work in an appendix to Mr. Broadley's note on the antiquities of Nalanda.

Doctor Buchanan, in his history of the district of Dinagepoor,* says that the traditions of the country place after Virot Raja, a

* Apud Martius's "Eastern India," vol. ii, p. 612.

dynasty of princes bearing the common name of Pal, of whom he said that many works were to be seen in Dinagepoor. He was told that on a certain occasion twelve persons, of very high distinction, and mostly named Pal, came from the west country to perform a religious ceremony in the Korotoya river, but arrived too late, and, as the next season for performing this ceremony was twelve years distant, they, in the interval, took up their abode here, built palaces and temples, dug tanks, and performed many other great works. They are said to have been of a tribe called Bhooinha, to which also the Rajas of Benares and Bettiya belong, and Doctor Buchanan, taking Captain Wilford's date, of A.D. 1017 * for Bho Pal or Mohee Pal, whom he considers identical, and the first of the dynasty, conjectures that in that year, his country being disturbed by the invasion of the Sultan Mahmood, who took Kasee, and penetrated far into Bengal, Mohee Pal retired to this remote part of the country, with his family and principal officers, and that it is probable that, according to tradition, they returned again to the west after a few years stay, and after the terror of the Mahomedan invaders had subsided.

I have transcribed this tradition, because others may trace more in it than I can; I attach very little value to the traditions Doctor Buchanan collected.

Abool Fazil, writing the *Ayeen Akbaree* about A.D. 1600, mentions seven princes, whom he calls of the Kayasth caste, bearing the name of Sen, the last of whom we know to have been hurled from the throne of Bengal by the Mahomedans A.D. 1203.† Before these Sens, whom he makes reign for 106 years, he places ten princes of the name of Pal, whom he also calls Kayasth, as follows:—

1.	Bho Pal,	reigned	...	...	55	years.
2.	Dhor Pal	"	...	...	95	"
3.	Deo Pal	"	...	...	83	"
4.	Bhoopot Pal	"	...	...	70	"
5.	Dhonpot Pal	"	...	...	45	"
6.	Bikon Pal	"	...	...	75	"
7.	Jai Pal	"	...	...	98	"
8.	Raj Pal	"	...	...	98	"
9.	Bhog Pal, his brother	...	...	...	5	"
10.	Jog Pal, son, of No. 9, reigned	...	...	...	74	;

Before the Pals Aboul Fazil places another dynasty which he calls Kayasth, of eleven kings reigning for 714 years, the first of whom he calls Udsoor, or Adisoor.‡ The length of the reigns

* Asiatic Researches, vol. ix, p. 203. of Delhi, page 8. .

† I take the date fixed by Mr. E. Gladwin's translation of *Ayeen Thomas, Chronicles of Pathan Kings Akbaree*, vol. ii., page 20.

assigned to the Sens is not improbable, but the average of sixty-nine years to a reign, which he gives to the Pals, is too great even for Indian families, where a man is frequently succeeded, not by his own son, but by a child adopted on his decease by his widow, and generally ten or twelve years of age. If there were only ten princes of the name, they can hardly have reigned more than 250 years. Abool Fazil can only be said to have preserved a tradition that ten Pal princes had ruled in Bengal in the order given, until about the year A.D. 1100, which allows 103 years for the Sen dynasty before the Mahomedan conquest. Captain Wilford* says that the list of kings of Bengal in the Ayeen Akbaree was formed by Jainas, who placed the beginning of the Kalee Yoog in the year 1078 B.C., and then altered by the followers of Brahma, who place it 3100 B.C., and lengthened reigns accordingly. I shall presently have more to say relative to the position which Abool Fazil assigns to the Pal dynasty, after Adisoor, and before Bolal Sen. I will now proceed to the consideration of some of the contemporaneous evidence which we possess, the earliest of which appears to be the grant of land, engraved on a copper plate, found at Monghyr by Colonel Watson. A translation by Mr. Charles Wilkins, made A.D. 1781, was published at page 123 of the first volume of Asiatic Researches, with notes by Sir William Jones:—

“ Deb Pal Deb.—Prosperity;—His wishes are accomplished ; his heart is steadfast in the cause of others ; he walks in the path of virtue. May the achievements of this fortunate prince cause innumerable blessings to his people. By displaying the strength of his genius, he hath discovered the road to all human acquisitions ; for being a Soogot, he is lord of the universe.

“ Go Pal, king of the world, possessed matchless good fortune. He was lord of two brides, the earth and her wealth. By comparison of the learned he was likened unto Preetoo, Sogo, and others, and it is credited.”

Here Sir William Jones notes that Mr. Wilkins has omitted the translation, and supplies the defect as follows:—

“ “ By whom, having conquered the earth as far as the ocean, it was left, as being unprofitably seized ; so he declared, and his elephants, weeping, saw again in the forests their kindred, whose eyes were full of tears.

“ When his innumerable army marched, the heavens were so filled with the dust of their feet, that the birds of the air could rest upon it.

“ He acted according to what is written in the Shastra, and obliged the different sects to conform to their proper

* Page 208, vol. ix., Asiatic Researches, (octavo edition).

"conquers. He was blessed with a son, Dhormo Pal, when he became independent of his forefathers, who are in heaven. His elephants moved like walking mountains, and the earth, oppressed by their weight and mouldered into dust, found refuge in the peaceful heavens.

"He went to extirpate the wicked and plant the good, and happily his salvation was effected at the same time, for his servants visited Kedar, and drank milk according to the law, and they offered up their vows, where the Ganges joins the ocean, and at Gokorna, and other places.

"When he had completed his conquests, he released all the rebellious princes he had made captive, and each returned to his own country laden with presents, reflected upon this generous deed, and longed to see him again, as mortals remembering a pre-existence, wish to return to the realms of light.

"This prince took the hand of the daughter of Porobol, Raja of many countries, whose name was Rona Debee; and he became settled.

"The people being amazed at her beauty, formed different opinions of her, some said it was Lokhee herself in her shape, others that the earth had assumed her form; many said it was the Raja's fame and reputation, others that a household goddess had entered his palace, and her wisdom and virtue set her above all the ladies of the court.

"This virtuous and praiseworthy princess bore a son, Deb Pal Deb, as the shell of the ocean produces the pearl.

"In whose heart there is no impurity; of few words, and gentle manners; and who peaceably inherited the kingdom of his father as Bodheesotwo succeeded Soogot.

"He who, marching through many countries making conquests, arrived with his elephants in the forests of the mountains of Vindhya, where, seeing again their long lost families, they mixed their mutual tears; and who going to subdue other princes, his young horses meeting their females at Kamboj they mutually neighed for joy.

"He who has opened again the road of liberality, which was first marked out in the Kreeto Joog by Rolee; in which Bhargob walked in the Treta Joog, which was cleansed by Korno in the Dwapor Joog, and was again choked up in the Kalce Joog, after the death of Sokodweesee.

"He who conquered the earth from the source of the Ganges as far as the well-known bridge, which was constructed by the enemy of Dosasyo, from the river of Lukheekool, as far as the ocean of the habitation of Boroona.

"At Mood-go-gheeree where is encamped his victorious army, across whose river a bridge of boats is constructed for a road;

“ which is mistaken for a chain of mountains, where immense herds
 “ of elephants, like thick black clouds, so darken the face of day,
 “ that people think it the season of the rains ; whither the princes
 “ of the north send so many troops of horse, that the dust of their
 “ hoofs spreads darkness on all sides ; whither so many mighty
 “ chiefs of Jumboodweep resort to pay their respects that the
 “ earth sinks beneath the weight of the feet of their attendants.
 “ There Deb Pal Deb (who walking in the footsteps of the mighty
 “ Lord of the great Soogots, the great commander, Raja of
 “ Mahafajas, Dhormo Pal Deb, is of the great Soogots, a great
 “ commander, and Raja of Maharajas) issues his commands :—
 “ To all the inhabitants of the town of Meseeka, situated in
 “ Krimila in the province of Srinogor, which is my own property,
 “ and which is not divided by any land belonging to another ; to
 “ all Ranok and Rajpootra, to the Omatyo, Maha-karta-kritika,
 “ Maha-dondo-naik, Maha-pratihar, Maha-samonta, Mahadow-
 “ sadhona, Maha-koomaramatya, to the Promatree, and Soro-
 “ bhonga ; to the Rajastaniya, Ooporeeko, Dasaporadheeko, Chowrod
 “ dhoroneeko, Dandeeko, Dondapaseeko, Sowlkeeko, Gowlmeeko,
 “ Kyotropo, Prantopalo, Kothtopalo, and Kandarokyo ; to the Toda,
 “ Jooktoko and the Beeneejooktoko ; to the keeper of the elephants,
 “ horses, and camels ; to the keeper of the mares, colts, cows,
 “ buffaloes, sheep, and goats ; to the Dootoprysonneeko, Goma-
 “ gomeeko, and Obheetworomant ; to the Beesoyptee, Toropotee,
 “ and Toreeko.

“ To the different tribes, Gowr, Malob, Khoso, Hoon, Koleeko,
 “ Kornato, Lasato, and Bhoto, to all other of our subjects, who are
 “ not here specified, and to the inhabitants of the neighbouring
 “ villages, from the Brahman and fathers of large families, to the
 “ tribes of Medo, Ondhoroko, and Chondalo.

“ Be it known that I have given the abovementioned town of
 “ Meseeka, whose limits include the fields where the cattle graze,
 “ above and below the surface, with all the lands belonging to it,
 “ together with all the mango and modhoo trees, all its waters and
 “ all their banks and verdure, all its rents and tolls, with all fines
 “ for crimes and rewards for catching thieves. In it there shall be
 “ no molestation, no passage for troops, nor shall any one
 “ take from it the smallest part. I give likewise everything
 “ that has been possessed by the servants of the Raja. I
 “ give the earth and sky, as long as the sun and moon shall
 “ last : except, however, such lands as have been given to God, and
 “ to the Brahmans, which they have long possessed and now enjoy.

“ And that the glory of my father and mother, and my own fame,
 “ may be increased, I have caused this sason to be engraved and
 “ granted unto the great Botho Beehkorato Meesro, who has acquired
 “ all the wisdom of books and has studied the *Vedas* under Oslayono,

"who is descended from Owpomonyobo; who is the son of the learned and immaculate Botho Borahorato, and whose grandfather was Botho Beesworato, learned in the *Vedas* and expert in performing the Jog.

"Know all the aforesaid, that, as bestowing is meritorious, so taking away deserves punishment; wherefore leave it as I have granted it. Let all his neighbours and those who till the ground, be obedient to my command. What you have formerly been accustomed to perform and pay, do it unto him in all things. Dated in 33rd *Sombot*, and 21st day of the month of Margo.

"Thus speak the following stokes from the Dhormo Onoosason :—
"1.—Rama hath required, from time to time, of all the Rajas that may reign, that the bridge of their beneficence be the same and that they do continually repair it.

"2.—Lands have been granted by Sogor and many other Rajas; and the fame of their deeds devolves to their successors.

"3.—He who dispossesses any one of his property, which I myself, or others have given, may he, becoming a worm, grow rotten in ordure, with his forefathers.

"4.—Riches and the life of man are as transient as drops of water upon a leaf of the lotus. Learning this truth, O man, do not attempt to deprive another of his reputation."

"The Raja, for the public good, hath appointed his virtuous son Rajyo Pal, to the dignity of Jowbo Raja. He is in both lines of descent illustrious, and hath acquired all the knowledge of his father."

'Sir William Jones, in his notes to Mr. Wilkins' translation, doubts whether the term Soogot could be correctly applied to a follower of the Booddhist prophet of that name; Saugot being the proper term, and, therefore, thinks that the translator should have applied the first couplet, which is panegyric, to Booddha, who is called Soogot, and not to the Raja, Deb Pal Deb. Be that as it may, the indication is unmistakeable that the Raja was a Booddhist, but the respectful mention of the Brahmanas, and regard for their rights as landed proprietors seem to me to indicate rather a foreign monarch who, though of another religion, was not a violent opponent of Brahmanism, than one of an indigenous dynasty, which had subverted a previous Brahmanical one upon the plea of religious reform. It is true that the expressions referred to may have been prompted by a Brahmanical scribe, rather than by Deb Pal himself, as it is quite in accordance with Indian custom for foreign invaders, at least after two or three generations, to have availed themselves of the services of the natives of the country, but the scribe would not have dared to make use of such expressions had his master been not only not a Brahmanist, but a religious opponent of Brahmanism.

Deb Pal, recounting the merits of his family, goes back to his grandfather, Go Pal, in a manner which appears to indicate Go Pal as founder of the glory of the line.

He seems to have overrun certain countries, supposed by the panegyrist to have comprised the earth, but not to have permanently occupied them.

"He acted according to the Shastra, and obliged all sects to conform to their proper tenets." This is an ambiguous expression, and I suspect that the ambiguity arises from the fact that the scribe, who composed the inscription, wished to disguise as much as he could the overthrow of Brahmanism by the Booddhist conqueror, Go Pal, although Deb Pal would not allow the religious view of Go Pal's conquests to be ignored altogether. Professor Lassen* considers that he is compared with Prithoo, an old Raja of Bithoor, near Lucknow, who is considered as the restorer of law upon earth, because he introduced a reformed government. Sogor is, Mr. Wilkins says, an old king of Ayodhya, said to have lived in the second age and dug the rivers. The inscription really tells little about Go Pal, except that he overran the country with a great army, and was a religious reformer. The Booddhism apparent in the introduction is that of Deb Pal, and not of his grandfather.

Go Pal was succeeded by his son, Dhormo Pal, in whose name we may, I think, accept the correct form of that of Deb Pal's predecessor, whom Aboul Fazil calls Dhor Pal. The identification of Aboul Fazil's Bho Pal with the Go Pal of the inscription, is less obvious. Dhormo Pal "went to extirpate the wicked, and plant "the good," an expression, certainly used of a religious reformer, and, after accepting the submission of neighbouring princes, he allowed his servants to go on pilgrimage to Kedar, a place, Mr. Wilkins says, still renowned for sanctity in the north of Hindoostan, to Gokorna, in the Punjab, and to the mouths of the Ganges. These pilgrimages are said to have secured the salvation of the prince. Whether this was Deb Pal's own idea, or that of the Brahman scribe, is not certain.

Dhormo Pal married Rona Debee, daughter of a king named Porobol; she was the mother of Deb Pal, who succeeded his father quietly. Porobol was king of Rashtrakoota; Sir W. Jones has pointed out Mr. Wilkins' mistake in translating this word "of many "countries." Professor Lassen † thinks from a calculation of dates that Go Pal must have been that king of Gour, who attacked the prince of the Málava, but was repulsed by the Rashtrakoota prince, Kárkaraja the second, who died 815, but, although he admits this connection between the dynasties of Pal and Rashtrakoota, he appears to prefer Mr. Wilkins' translation, or to have over-

* III, 726.

† III, 726.

looked Sir. W. Jones' correction. The Professor has written at length on the Râshtrakoota dynasty. *

Deb Pal made certain warlike expeditions; his elephants re-visited their wild kindred in the Vindhya hills, which, in the widest sense of the name, include all the high land from Rajmahal to the Gulf of Cambay, and his horses saw their relatives in Kamboja.

I have tried, for reasons which I shall give hereafter, to get from these words the meaning that king Deb Pal's ancestors brought their cavalry with them from Kamboja, and that Deb Pal re-visited that country. I cannot, however, say that I believe this is the meaning. Kamboja was the country about Ghuznee, north-west of India, from which the celebrated Kabool horses are brought in great numbers into India to the present day, and horses of Kamboja are in the Ramayana mentioned among the wealth of king Dasarath, and again in the stables of Ravon, as Arabian or Kabool horses might be mentioned now. The words imply that Deb Pal pushed his conquests as far as Kamboja, but not necessarily that he was re-visiting the seats of his own ancestors, though his horses had come from that region.

Deb Pal is said to have conquered the earth from the source of the Ganges to the bridge Rama's allies threw across to Ceylon. and from Boroon to Lokheekool. Mr. Wilkins interprets this as meaning from Goojerat in the west to Lukheepoor on the Megna, so that Deb Pal's conquests extended over the whole of India. This was, probably, a rhetorical amplification.

The king Deb Pal writes from Moodgo-geeree, the modern Monghyr. Doctor Buchanan † says that though the name is by some said to be derived from a proper name, Moodgal, it is probably from the pulse *Phaseolus Mungo*, *mood* or *moodgo*. The king does not seem to have lived at Monghyr, but to have been encamped there, communicating with the northern bank by means of a bridge of boats, and receiving the homage of tributary princes, notably leaders of horsemen from the north. Professor Lassen thinks Monghyr must have been the capital, but for the same reasons that make me think otherwise.

The king grants the town of Meeseeka, in Kreemeela, in the province of Sreehogor, which Mr. Wilkins says, is an ancient name of Patna, to one Botho Beehkorato Misro, son of Botho Borahorato, grandson of Botho Beesworato, descendant of Owpomonyobo; a pupil of Oslayond, and learned in the *Vedas*; the grandfather is said to have been also expert in performing the ceremony called Jog. The surname of Misra is also that of the Brahman Prime Minister of the Pal Raja, who set up the Bodal pillar, which I shall mention presently; he was of the Sandeelya family, and I therefore suspect

* III. 537.

† Apud Martin's "Eastern India," II, 45

that Doctor Buchanan was wrong * in saying that the family of Gautameeya takes the surname of Misra, while that of Garga takes the surname of Sookla, and the Sandeelya that of Tiwaree. The Bodal inscription indeed says that Garga was of the Sandeelya race, so Doctor Buchanan's informant can hardly have been correct in speaking of the three Pantee of Garga, Sandeelya, and Gautameeya as distinct. The name of Misra seems to indicate a connection between the recipient of the grant, and the Prime Ministers we shall speak of presently.

The nature of the grant is clear enough from the translation given. The exception of *deboottar* lands, or endowments of idols, and grants to Brahmans, as well as the fact of the grant being made probably to a Brahman, points to a Brahmanical influence that was already felt by the Booddhist king.

The date, 33 Sombot, Mr. Wilkins considers to be of the era of Vikramaditya, or 24 B.C., and Sir William Jones was of the same opinion. It, however, probably, refers either to the year of the reign of Deb Pal, or to an era instituted by the Pal kings. I believe Mr. James Prinsep read the date 123, but I have not his tables by me to refer to. In the facsimile the date is 132 as Captain Wilford says on page 207, vol. IX, Asiatic Researches, where he gives reasons for giving Deb Pal a date between A.D. 1052 and 1059.

The manner in which the grant is addressed gives some insight into the construction of the government of the Pal king. It is addressed to the Ranak, and Rajpootra, or Royal Family; to the Omatya, Councillor or prime Minister.

Mohakarta-kritika, "chief investigator of all things" (Wilkins) 'the highest executive officer' (Lassen).

Moha-dondo-naik, chief officer of punishments (Wilkins). This is the officer of justice, mentioned by Professor Lassen.

Moha-pratee-har, chief keeper of the gates (Wilkins).

Moha-samanta, generalissimo (Wilkins).

Professor Lassen says there was a Poorohit, or domestic priest, to perform sacrifices for the king; I cannot make out which title he reads thus: then besides the commander-in-chief, and the minister of justice, he has a minister of foreign affairs, and a minister of court ceremonies. These I do not identify.

Moha-dao-sadhon-sadhoneeka, chief obviator of difficulties (Wilkins). Professor Lassen says we find this title afterwards (I suppose he means in the Sen inscription), under the form Moha-sadhona-bhaga, and he construes it to designate a minister of public works.

Moha-koomara-matya, chief instructor of children. Professor Lassen thinks he was the tutor of the king's children.

* Apud Martin's "Eastern India," II, 451.

Promatree, keeper of the records. (Wilkins.)

Soro-bhongo, patrols.

Rajastaneeya, 'Viceroy' (Wilkins). Professor Lassen says this officer officiated for the monarch when he would not look after business for himself.

Ooporeeko, "superintendent," of what, we do not know. Professor Lassen thinks of the officers next mentioned.

Dasaporadhika, investigator of crimes.

Chowroddhoroneeka, thief-catcher.

Dandeko, mace-bearer.

Dondo-paseeko, keeper of the instruments of punishment.

Sowl-keeko, collector of customs (Wilkins).

Gowl-meeko, commander of a small party.

Kyotrope, 'supervisor of cultivation' (Wilkins).

Pránte-pálo, 'guard of the suburbs' (Wilkins).

Kothto-pálo, 'commander of a fort.'

Kándá-rokyo, 'guard of the wards of the city.'

Todá-jooktoko, chief guard of the wards.

Beenee-jooktoko, director of affairs.

Dooto-prysoneeko, 'chief of the spies' (Wilkins).

Goma-gomeeko, messengers.' (Wilkins).

Obheetooromano, 'swift messengers.'

Becsoy-potee, 'governor of a city' (Wilkins). The phrase means 'lord of affairs,' a vague term giving no clue to the nature of the office.

Toropotee, "superintendent of the rivers" (Wilkins). Professor Lassen thinks, had to see that ferry boats were provided for crossing the rivers, and that another officer, by whom, I presume, he means,

Toreeko, chief of the boats (Wilkins) looked after the actual ferrying.

Professor Lassen says that the inscription contains nothing to support Aboul Fazil's assertion that the Pals were of the Kayasth caste; indeed, Aboul Fazil had, probably, only the authority of a Kayasth for saying so; nor does the inscription contain anything to determine where was the seat of Gopal's government, though I have already mentioned Professor Lassen's surmise that he was a prince of Gour.

The Professor detects in Deb Pal a change, coming over the religious views of the dynasty. Deb Pal followed after his father, as a Bodhi-satwa follows Soogata, or Booddha. Sir W. Jones has pointed out that Soogata does not mean, as the Professor says, a Booddhist, but Booddha; Sougata is the word for a Booddhist. As to the extent of Go Pal's conquests, the Professor considers them exaggerated, as well as the number of tribes said to be obedient to Deb Pal.

These tribes, called upon, after the enumeration of state officers to respect the Royal grant, are the Gour, Málov, Khoso, Hoou, Koleeko, Kornáto, Lasato, and Bhoto; then are mentioned the villagers from the Brahmans, down to the Medo, Ondhroko, and Chandálo.

Respecting the Gour, Professor Lassen says nothing. I suppose they were the people inhabiting the country which afterwards gave its name to the city of Gour, in the modern district of Máldah,* built, probably, as Mahomedan historians, writing soon after the event, have recorded, by one of the Sen dynasty. Their being first mentioned is significant, and must be taken in connection with the titles of Gour-potee Gouradhipo, and Gour-eshwar, Lord of Gour, or, more probably, of the tribe called Goura, which we shall presently mention as applied in more than one inscription to the Pal kings. The Goura are enumerated in the Brihat Sanhita, among the tribes inhabiting one of the regions into which India is divided in that treatise for astronomical purposes, but whether they are mentioned in the Ramayana, among the tribes the monkeys were to visit in their search for Seeta, I do not remember, nor have I here the means of reference. I think it probable that the country of the Goura was very much the same as that which Professor Blochmann* calls Lakhnauti, when occupied in the thirteenth century of the Christian era, by the Mahomedans, and so read the phrase, "Lord of Gour" or "Lord of the Goura," as equivalent to "king of Bengal." I conjecture that the Goura formed the bulk of the subjects of the Pal prince, and that the other tribes mentioned were either frontier tribes, such as the Bhootiya, Koch, and Lepcha, or degraded, servile tribes, such as the Chardal.

The Khasa, Professor Lassen says, lived in the Himalaya; he does not believe they were subject to the Pal king. I think they may, probably, be the people who at a period somewhat later were driven westward down the Brahmapootra valley by the Shan or Ahom tribe; and are now found in Rungpoor and Dinagepoor under the name of Koch or Koshyo, having given their name to the Cossyah hills, Kooch Beha, and Cachar. There certainly were Pal kings reigning in Rungpoor at a later period, and I see no reason for doubting that the earlier Pals also had extended their authority to the regions where the Koch dwelt. How far westward the Koch had come, in Deb Pal's time, we do not know.

Respecting the Hoons, I can offer no suggestion. The Professor says they cannot be distinguished from the white Hoons. They first appeared on the borders of Persia in the reign of Bahram

* Page 3, "Contributions to History and Geography of Bengal."

Goor, who came to the throne A.D. 421, and five years afterwards married the daughter of Sadáson Pal. In the beginning of the seventh century Cosmas Indicopleustes * has white Hoon settlements in the Punjab, and a dynasty of thirteen Hoon kings in India is recorded by the Pauraniks.

The Malava and Karnata may be supposed to have left their names in Malabar and Malwa and the Carnatic, whether the Pals really held them subject, or had merely overrun their countries, can only be surmised. The Koleeko may be the Koleeto, or Kolito, a tribe still numerous in Assam, as Doctor Buchanan† says,‡ and of which he found some traces in Rungpoor.‡ Professor Lassen thinks they may have been the Kols.

The Lasata I cannot identify; the Bhoto, I think, are the tribe of North-Eastern origin, who have given their name to Bhootan. The Meda I do not know; the Andhraka, Professor Lassen says are not the Andhra of Telingana, but a low caste. This the Chandala certainly are now, and as the inscription says from the Brahmans, as the highest, to the Meda, Andhraka, and Chandala, as the lowest, the caste is probably here referred to, though it may have been in earlier times a tribe subjugated by the Brahmans, and, from the menial offices in which they were employed, assigned the lowest place in the caste system, I know of no caste called Andhra or Andhraka; there are, however, some Telenga in Rungpoor and Dinagepoor, a name which indicates a connection between a people which gave one of its names to Telingana, or Andhra, and a region certainly under the Pal kings of Bengal.

Professor Lassen thinks from the absence of any mention of the Ootkala of Orissa, mentioned in another inscription as subdued by the Pals, that they must have been exterminated. I think it more probable that at the time of Deb Pal, the dynasty had not come in contact with them.

The mention of the king's son, Rajyo Pal, as Jowbo Raja, has been a great difficulty as he does not appear in any of the inscriptions as successor to Deb Pal. I think this may be explained by the possibility of his having died before his father. I see no difficulty in identifying Gopal, Dhormo Pal, and Deb Pal of this plate, with Aboul Fazil's Bho Pal, Dhor Pal and Deb Pal.

There is not much more to be learnt from the Monghyr copper-plate.

The second contemporary record of the Pal kings is an inscription § cut on a pillar which stands on the border between the districts of Dinagepoor and Bogra, about forty miles

* Asiatic Researches, vol. ix, 206.

† Id., *ibid*, III, 628.

‡ Apud Martin's "Eastern India," III, 675.

§ Page 131, vol. I, Asiatic Researches.

south-east from the former station. It is commonly called the Buddal inscription, from its neighbourhood to the East India Company's trading factory of Buddal, or Bodal, where Mr. Charles Wilkins was stationed, in December 1780, when he discovered "a decapitated monumental column, which at a little distance had very much the appearance of the trunk of a cocoanut tree broken off in the middle. It stands in a swamp overgrown with weeds, near a small temple dedicated to Horogowree, whose image it contains * * * It is formed of a single stone, of a dirty grey complexion, and it has lost, by accident, a considerable part of its original height. I was told on the spot that it had, in the course of time, sunk considerably in the ground, but, upon my digging about the foundation, I found this was not the case. At a few feet above the ground is an inscription, etc. etc."

Of the inscription, which is in Sankrit, Mr. Wilkins gives the following translation, observing the resemblance of the character to that of the Monghyr copper-plate of Deb Pal, and thinking it a work of the same period :—

"I.—Veera Deb was of the Sandeelya race ; from him was descended Panchal, of whose generation was Garga born.

"II.—He, another Sakra, was ruler of but one quarter, and had no authority in other regions. He, too, was defeated by Daitya chiefs, but, being a virtuous prince, he became supreme over every country without reserve, and his conduct was such that he laughed Yreehaspatee to scorn.

"III.—Eecha was his wife, and, like love, she was the mistress of his heart. She was admired for the native purity of her mind, and her beauty was like the light of the moon.

"IV.—In his countenance, which was like the flower of the waters, were to be traced the lines of four sciences. The three worlds were held in subjection by his hereditary high rank. From these two was descended a Brahman like Komolayonee, and he took unto himself the name of Sree Dorbha-panee."

"V. (I give Sir William Jones' translation of this verse in preference to that of Mr. Wilkins.)—By whose policy the great Prince, Deb Pal, made the earth tributary, from the father of Reva, * whose piles of rocks are moist with juice from the heads of lascivious elephants, to the father of Gowree † whose white mountains are brightened with beams from the moon of Ishwar, and as far as the two oceans, whose waters are red with the rising and with the setting sun.

"VI.—At whose gates (although the prospect, hidden by the dust arising from the multitude of marching forces was rendered clear from the earth, being watered by constant and abundant

"streams, flowing from the heads of lustful elephants of various breeds) stood, scarce visible, amongst the vast concourse of nobles, flocking to his standard from every quarter, Sree Deb Pal, in expectation of his submission." *

"VII.—Whose throne that prince, who was the image of Indra, and the dust of whose feet was impressed with the diadems of sundry potentates, himself ascended with a flash of glory, although he had formerly been wont to offer him large sums of Peetas, bright as the lunar rays.

"VIII.—To him was born, of the princess Sarkara, the Brahman Someswar, who was like Som † the offspring of Atree, and a favourite of the most high.

"IX.—He adopted the manners of Dhananjay.‡ and did not exult over the ignorant and ill-favoured. He spent his riches among the needy. He neither vainly accepted adulation, nor uttered honey-words. His attendants were attached by his bounty, and because of his vast talents, which the whole universe could not equal; he was the wonder of all good men.

"X.—Anxious for a home and an asylum, he took the hand of Rona, a princess of his own likeness, according to the law, even as Seeb the hand of Secva, even as Haree the hand of Lakshmee.

"XI.—From this pair proceeded into life, bursting forth like Gooba,§ with a countenance of a golden hue, the fortunate Kedara Meesra, whose actions rendered him the favourite of heaven. The lofty diadem, which he had attained, shone with faultless splendour, kissing the vast circumference of the earth. His extensive power was hard to be limited, and he was renowned for boundless knowledge, raised from his own internal source.

"XII.—The ocean of the four sciences, which had been at a single draught drank up, he brought forth again, and laughed at the power of Agastya.

"XIII.—Trusting to his wisdom, the king of Gour for a long time enjoyed the country of the eradicated race of Ootkal, of the Hoons of humbled pride, of the kings of Draveer, and Goojar, whose glory was reduced, and the universal sea girt thrown.

"XIV.—He considered his own acquired wealth the property of the needy, and his mind made no distinction between the friend and the foe. He was both afraid and ashamed of those offences which condemn the soul to sink again into the ocean of mortal birth, and he despised the pleasures of this life, because he delighted in a supreme abode.

* This word Sir William Jones translates "leisure," meaning that the king Deb Pal at the head of his army, awaited the leisure of his minister.

† The moon.

‡ One of the heroes of the Mahabharat.

§ Kartik.

" XV.—To him, emblem of Vreehaspotee, and to his religious rites, the prince Sree Soora Pal (who was a second Indra, and whose soldiers were fond of wounds) went repeatedly, and that long and happy companion of the world, which is girt with several oceans as with a belt, was wont, with a soul, purified at the fountain of faith, and his head humbly bowed down, to bear pure water before him.

" XVI.—Vanwa, of celestial birth, was his consort, with whom neither the fickle Lakshmee, nor Satee, constant to her lord, were to be compared.

" XVII.—She, like another Devackee bore unto him a son of high renown, who resembled the adopted of Yasodha,† and husband of Lakshmee.

" XVIII.—This youth, by name Sree Goorava Meesra, was acquainted with all the constellations; he resembled Ram, the son of Jamadagnee. He was another Ram.

" XIX.—His abilities were so great, that he was solicitous to discover the essence of things, wherefore he was greatly respected by the prince Sree Narayan Pal; what other honour was necessary?

" XX.—His policy (which was of no mean capacity, and of a reputation not to be conceived), following the sense of the Vedas, was of boundless splendour, and, as it were, a descent of Dharma, the Genius of Justice. It was regulated by the example of those who trust in the power of speech over things future, who stand upon the connection of family, who are in the exercise of paying due praise to the virtues of great men, and who believe in the purity of astrology.

" XXI.—In him was united a lovely pair, Lakshmee and Saraswatee, the Disposer of Fortune, and Goddess of Science, who seemed to have forsaken their natural enmity, and to stand together pointing at friendship.

" XXII.—He laughed to scorn him who, in the assemblies of the learned, was intoxicated with the love of argument, and confounded him with profound and elegant discourses, framed according to the doctrine of the Shastras; and he spared not the man, who, because of his boundless power and riches, was overwhelmed with the pride of victory over his enemy in the field."

" XXIII. (This verse is translated differently by Sir W. Jones, I give Mr. Wilkins' translation).—He had a womb but it obstinately bore him no fruit. One like him can have no great relish for the enjoyment of life. He never was blessed with that giver of delight, by obtaining which a man goeth unto another almoner.

" XXIV.—He, who was, as it were, another Valmeekie, born in

* The mother of Krishna.

† The foster-mother of Krishna.

" this dark age of impiety, amongst a dreadful and cruel race of mortals, was a devout man, who displayed the learning of the Vedas in books of moral tales.

" XXV.—His profound and pleasing language, like Gunga, following a triple course, and constant stream, purifieth and delighteth.

" XXVI.—He to whom, and to those of whose generation, men were wont to resort as it were to Brahma, waited so in expectation of being a father, that, at length he himself arrived at the state of a child.

" XXVII.—By him was recorded here, upon this lasting column,—the superior beauty of whose shaft catcheth the eye of the beholder, whose aspiring height is as boundless as his own ideas which is, as it were, a stake planted in the breast of Kalee, and on whose top sits Tarkshya, the foe of serpents and favourite bird of Haree,—the line of his own descent.

" XXVIII.—Garoor, like his fame, having wandered to the extremity of the world, and descended even unto its foundation, was exalted here with a serpent in his mouth.

" This work was executed by the artist Bindoo Bhadra."

The object of the erection of the pillar is clearly the commemoration of the name and ancestry of one Goorab Misra, a Brahman, who was distinguished at the court of Narayon Pal.

The father of Goorab Misra, Kedara Misra, had been a councillor of the King of Gour, and takes credit for the obedience to that prince of the country of the Ootkal, the Hoons, and the kings of Dravira and Goojar. The Hoons were spoken of as subject to Deb Pal in the Monghyr inscription, and the Ootkal are here said to have been eradicated, which Professor Lassen considers the reason for the omission of their name by Deb Pal, although he places Deb Pal earlier than the prince mentioned in this inscription, as sovereign over the country of the Ootkala. He may mean that although the country of the Ootkala remained subject, the Ootkala as a tribe had been eradicated, which is scarcely probable. The king of Dravira must have ruled in those southern parts of the Peninsula in which the Dravidian or Tamil language are spoken, and Goojar points to Goojerat in the west.

The manner in which Soor Pal, the King of Gour, is said to have waited upon his minister Kedara Misra, is singular. The Brahman not only appears to have exercised an authority which can scarcely have been acknowledged by the king except as a convert to Brahmanism, but the Brahman's son, Goorab Misra, speaks of it in an exultant manner which is difficult to understand how the king can have brooked. The policy of the Brahman appears to have been one of compromise; absorbing into their caste system, all with whom they came in contact, according to the terms upon which they were able to receive

them. Thus the tribes whom they conquered, became low and impure castes, to whom were assigned the lowest and most menial occupations; merchants powerful from their wealth, and physicians respectable from their learning, were assigned a higher rank, but the Kshatriya, the Rajpoot, and probably the Pal kings, were military conquerors, taking from the Brahmans the sovereignty of the land, and to them the Brahmans were obliged to cede the position of kings and rulers, reserving to themselves the priesthood and spiritual rule, and in that capacity making the king bow down before them. This compromise seems to have taken place since the Booddhist king, Deb Pal, dictated the Monghyr copper-plate, and before the haughty Brahman of the Bodai pillar recorded the submission of the King Soor Pal to his father.

The father of Kedara Misra was the Brahman Someshwar, who does not appear to have come in contact with any of the kings; the father of Someshwar, named Darbha-paneé, is said to have rendered tributary to Deb Pal, the country lying between eastern and western oceans, and between Himalaya, 'the father the Gouree,' to the father of Reva or the Mountain Mahendra.

The father of Darbha-paneé was Gorga, descended from Panchal, who was a descendant of Veera Deb, of the Sandeelya race. I have before pointed out the identity of the surname of Misra, with that of the person in whose favour the Monghyr grant was made. The Sandeelya is one of the most distinguished families of Brahmans. Doctor Buchanan,* makes it one of the nineteen *pángtee* into which the Sarwariya division of Kanōj Brahmans are subdivided, and again,† he says, that the five tribes, or *gotra* of Brahmans whom Adisoor brought into Bengal from Kanōj, were the Bhorodwaj, Kasyop, Sandeelya, Batsya, and Soobornya. Professor Lassen‡ says, that the five Brahmans invited by Adisoor were,—First, Bhāta Narayon, of the family of Sandeelya, who was a son of Kasyop; secondly, Daxa, descended from the same ancestor, Kasyop; thirdly, Vedagarbha, or Vedagarba, of the family of either Vatsa, or Bhṛigoo; fourthly, Chandra, or Chandada, of the family of a son of Kasyop, named Soobarna; and, fifthly, Sreeharsa, of the family of Bharadwaga. Professor Lassen, giving much more authority to Abool Fazil than I think his due, places Adisoor as the first of a dynasty that preceded the Pal kings, and consisted of eleven princes, reigning 714 years; Doctor Buchanan makes Adisoor the first prince who came after the Pals. I shall have to return to this point, but mention it

* Apud Martin's "Eastern India," † Indische Alterthumskunde, III, II, 451. 718.

† Id, II, 728.

here to say, that the fact of Brahmans of the Sandeelya family being in power during the Government of the Pal kings, is by no means inconsistent with the immigration of others of the same family after the fall of the Pals. If the fall of the Pals was due to the growing power of the Brahman ministers, it is likely enough that, when the revival of Brahmanism by the next dynasty, led to the invitation of additional Brahmans, some of those invited should have been of the family to which the powerful ministers had belonged.

I do not quite see the point of the comparison of Garga with Sakra, or Indra; Sir William Jones renders the passage that "Indra was ruler in the East only, and, though valiant, "had been defeated even there by the Daitya, or Titans, but that "Dhorma, Justice, was made sovereign to him in all quarters."

The allusion to the Daitya, seems to be a comparison of Indra's circumstances with those of Garga, who must have been defeated by some power which is not indicated. If Deb Pal is the same as the Deb Pal of the Monghyr copper-plate, Garga, the father of his minister, would have been a contemporary of Dhorma Pal. I am not sufficiently skilled in Sanskrit to say whether this Dhorma may be referred to in the inscription, but had such an interpretation been possible, I do not suppose Mr. Wilkins or Sir William Jones would have overlooked it. Still there is the possibility that these Brahmans may have been in power before the Pal kings, and overthrown by them, perhaps by Dhormo Pal.

The son of Garga, Sir W. Jones thinks, is represented as keeping the king, Deb Pal, waiting at the head of his army, till he had leisure to attend him. The word Peeta, which Mr. Wilkins interprets a coin, Sir W. Jones refers to the chair of state, which he thinks the king sometimes ceded to the minister.

This man's grandson, Kedara Misra, seems to have been equally authoritative with the king, Soor Pal, but there it is clear that the king venerates him only as a religious guide, "with soul purified at the fountain of faith, head humbly bowed down, and bearing pure water before him." Deb Pal respected Darbhapanee only as a great minister, Soor Pal seems to have become a follower of the religion of the Brahmaus, and looked on Kedara Misra as a priest.

The pillar seems to have borne on its top a figure of the Eagle Garoor, or Tarkshya, with a serpent in its mouth.

There is no reason for doubting the identity of the king Deb Pal, mentioned in the two inscriptions; we hear no more of Rajyo Pal, Deb Pal's son; a generation later we find Soor Pal, and then Narayon Pal, but neither the relationship between them, nor their connection with Deb Pal, is mentioned. It is possible that the

reign of Rajyo Pal may have filled up the generation between Deb Pal and Soor Pal, indicated by the pedigree of the minister, or Rajyo Pal may have died during his father's life-time, and Soor Pal have succeeded Deb Pal. Abool Fazil gives Bho Pal, Dhor Pal, who may be Dhorma Pal, and Deb, or Deo Pal, but the next names he records do not agree at all with those in the inscriptions.

I think Professor Lassen goes a little too far in considering the mention of the humbling of kings of Dravira and Goojara, pure falsehood, though it is most improbable that in the state of communication existing between different parts of India a thousand years ago, an empire extending across the peninsula could have been kept together. I see nothing improbable in Deb Pal, or perhaps his ancestor Go Pal, having overrun the country of tribes in the West called Goojara, who gave their name to Goojarat, and of tribes in the South called Dravira, and, in that case, though no real sovereignty remained, the nominal empire over those countries would be maintained by the descendants of the conqueror for some generations, even as the kings of England called themselves kings of France long after they had lost all authority in that kingdom.

I quite agree with the Professor in thinking that it was not all the princes of India that did homage at Monghyr. The inscription does not seem to say that they did.

I cannot keep pace with the Professor when he says, that Panchal was prime minister to Go Pal, and Garga to Dhorma Pal, and that he must have abused the trust placed in him before he could be said to have ruled in a certain quarter, and that he may have tried to supplant the sovereign because the latter maintained the superiority of the doctrine of Sakya Sinho over Brahmanism. There is no evidence here, and probability is rather in favour of the Booddhist king's having overthrown Brahmanism, as I have said before.

The panegyric on the generosity of Deb Pal is probably called forth by his generosity to Brahmans, as exemplified in the Monghyr grant. Professor Lassen thinks that he is not praised on account of any other virtue, because he did not trouble himself about affairs of state, leaving all to his prime minister. I think this is a conclusion hardly warranted by the evidence. The king's generosity would be the virtue naturally commemorated in a deed of gift.

Professor Lassen says, that Rajyo Pal seems to have given the whole administration into the hands of his prime minister, Someshwar, son of Dorbhapanoo. I think I have shown that there is no evidence that Rajyo Pal survived his father, Deb Pal, or that Someshwar was ever prime-minister; we only know that Dorbhapanoo was minister to Deb Pal, and Someshwar's son to Soor Pal.

Again the Professor gathers from the inscription that Soor Pal had a long reign, and having assigned to the joint reigns of Go Pal, Dhorma Pal, and Deb Pal the period from A.D. 800 to 883, he brings Soor Pal down to 925. He thinks that on the death of Deb Pal there must have ensued a division of the kingdom, Rajyo Pal and his successors reigning over a small tract near Bodal, and Bho Pal, or Bhoopotee Pal, over the greater portion of the kingdom, the latter being succeeded by six princes, the last of whom, Yog Pal, was overthrown by the Boidyo dynasty, A.D. 1040. This conclusion seems to be derived from the difference of names in the inscriptions from those given by Aboul Fazil, and Joseph Tieffenthaler, in his *Beschreibung Von Hindoostan*.

Aboul Fazil was writing at least five hundred years after the fall of the Pal kings, and we do not know that he had any authority for what he wrote. Tieffenthaler wrote more than a century later. I do not, therefore, think it necessary to attach much value to what they have said on the subject.

Professor Lassen thinks that the name of Soor Pal denotes a worshipper of the Sun, and that of Narayon Pal the worship of Vishnoo, of whom Narayon is a title, the influence of the Sandeelya Brahmans having produced this effect upon the minds of the kings.

The expressions used, the allusions to Haree, Gouree, and Garoor, point rather to the worship of Seeya than of Vishnoo. The mention of the policy of Goorab Misra being based on his confidence in the power of eloquence, and his connection with an appreciative family, leads the Professor to the conclusion that Goorab Misra had assisted Narayon Pal to supplant his relation Soor Pal. I do not see the justness of the deduction, nor do I understand from the inscription that Goorab had defeated the adherents of Soor Pal in battle.

The Professor thinks the name Buddal must have been originally Bhoddhal, from Booddha and Alaya, meaning the residence of Booddh, and having been a Booddhist sanctuary. If it had been so in Hiouen Thsang's time, that traveller would scarcely have failed to mention it in his journey through Poundra-Barddhana, which was probably, as Mr. Fergusson has shown, the region of Dinagepoor, Rungpoor, and Bogra; it might, of course, have been set up by the Pals after Hiouen Thsang's visit, but as a matter of fact the name is not Buddal, but Bodal. I know the place. The place is six or seven miles from Bodal, near Moulvibazar, and close to a temple consecrated to Seeh, and known under the compound name of Hor-Gouree.

I will now go on to mention a third inscription which has recently been discovered at Nalanda at Burgaul, in Behar, by Mr. Broadley, on the jamb of an excavated temple. Baboo Rajendra

Lal Mitra, in an appendix to Mr. Broadley's work on Nalanda, has deciphered it and given a translation. It measures eight inches by five, and runs as follows :—

Srimatmalipálde.
vrájye samvat
... .. agnirághadwára
tart deya dhammáyam prabara
má (m) háyan yáyin : para
• mopásak srimantailádh
kiyajnádhípa kausámbi
biniргátasya haradatta naptu
rgurudatta suta sri bálá
dittiyasya yadattrá punyam ta
nmatu sarghasattvarásheratta
nurajnáábáptaya iti

"In the reign of Srimat Mahi Pala Deva (Mohee Pal Deb) "Saṃvat 913 (A.D. 856) this is a religious gift of Báláditya, the "the sun of Gooroodatta, and grandson of Haradatta, a follower of "the noble Maháyána school, etc. A devout worshipper, who came "from Kausámbee, (where he was) the chief among the wise men "of the auspicious, Tailádhaka (clan). Whatever merit may "accrue from this, may the same be to the advancement of the "highest knowledge among the mass of mankind. The end."

The date the Baboo derives from the words *agni* 'fire,' standing for 3, *rágha* 'power,' for 1, and *dvára*, 'door' for 9.

Another inscription, on the figure of a four-armed goddess at Nalanda, runs:—

'Samvat 1, Aswin Sádi 8, Parema Bhattáraka, Mahárájadhi-
rája Parameswara Sri Gopála Rájanee Sri Nálandáyañ (second
line) Sri Vágiswari.'

The character is similar, and this may possibly be a mention of the Go Pal Raja of the Monghyr copper-plate.

The other is more important. If the Baboo reads the date correctly, it fixes the reign of Mohee Pal, and Mohee Pal must have been reigning either over the country in which Burgaon is the scene of the dedication of the gift, the stone, the doorpost, or whatever it was, or over the country whence the devotee came, in which Kausámbee is situate, or both. The former is in Behar, sixty or seventy miles west of Monghyr, six miles south-west of Behar : Kausámbee is the Baboo says, in the Doab of the Ganges. The Baboo says that among the Hindoos so low a caste as that of Tailádhaka, or oil-sellers, would never have been thought of, though, among the Buddhists, the race might be termed an auspicious one. This brings to my recollection the story of the priests of Juggernath in Orissa refusing to receive the gifts of Kántá Baboo, Mr Warren Hasting's banian, because he was a

Telee, until the pundits of Bengal certified that Telee was a corruption of Taulik, named, not from oil, but (*tula danda dhāru taulik*) from holding up the scales in weighing. The story will be found at p. 95, *Calcutta Review*, July 1873. It may be that this was allowed to the Telee in the time of Mohee Pal also.

This prince, Mohee Pal, has not appeared in the inscriptions I have as yet discussed; but his name is well known in the district of Dinagepoor by the great tank, fifteen miles south of the station of Dinagepoor, known as Mohee Pal Dighe. Its greatest length being from north to south points to a Hindoo origin, though there are several Mahomedan tanks in the neighbourhood. Near it are Moheepoor and Moheegaon, and the pergunnah Mohee-nogor records the name of a town that may have been Mohee Pal's residence.

At Sarnath, near Benares, in 1794, a stone and a marble vessel, one within the other, were found, containing some human bones and some jewellery, and near them was found a statue of Booddha. The remains were supposed, from not having been thrown into the Ganges, to have been those of a Booddhist. The statue and not the urns, seems to have borne the inscription given at page 132, vol. V, *Asiatic Researches* :—

tamovudḍhāya bārānaśi
śrādhyā tamita tūpati
bhupāla chitrāya tagrādī
gaurādhipo mahī pālāh
śahajikūta pāndityau
yau dharmmarajikan sāngan

kut bantāu chanabīna

nān sri sthira palo

sarsyān gūṇiḥ sridhāmarāślipā-
davjama

ḥhīroruḥaḥ shevalākir namu 1,
kīrtnaratnadharāchayāh

kāśhyāśrimātāḥ śāyatu 2.

boddhārā banibartninou

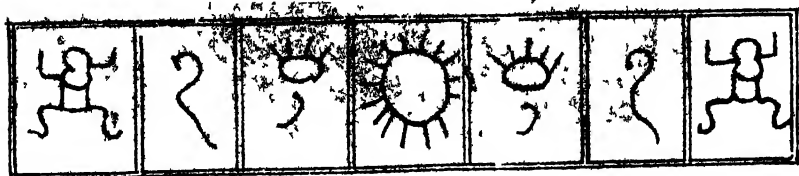
dharmmaśchakṛam punarbhū-
van 3.

mesuma hāsthana shai larājaku-
tūma

basant pālonūjashomānu 4.

Sambatu 1083 pouṣa din. 11.

Then follows a line of characters, probably symbolical, the centre one seeming to be a representation of the sun; on each side of it a crown, with a mark like a comma under it; beyond those again, on each side a figure 2, and the two outer figures appear to be a kind of beetle.



swadhamman hetu prakaro hetuntésántathaphalehyavadatu tesánchayatavir dhavan tãa dímaháshamanah.

Professor Lassen discusses this inscription at page 742 of his 3rd volume, and p. 462, vol. ii. The character in which it is given is modern Devanagaree, and Mr. Duncan, who sent it to the Asiatic Society, had probably employed a pundit to transcribe it from the original character, which was most likely the *kutila*, in which the other inscriptions of the Pal kings are found written. It is apparently corrupt, but we may learn from it that Mohee Pal was a Booddhist, that he was lord of Gour, and that he had two sons, Sthir, Pal and Vasanto Pal.

If the year 1083 be correct, corresponding with A.D. 1027 or A.D. 1017, and the Mohee Pal of Nalanda be the same person, the Nalanda date cannot be A.D. 856, even if it were engraved in the beginning of his reign, and if the Sarnath statue were not inscribed until after his death, by his son; Baboo Rajendra Lal Mitra considers the reading incorrect, and thinks even the names may not be what they appeared in the original. A tradition, preserved by Captain Wilford at page 203, vol. ix., Asiatic Researches, says that the Sarnath monument erected by the sons of Mohee Pal, was destroyed by the Mahomedans before its completion. Benares was taken by Sooltan Mahmood A.D. 1017. The era of Vikramaditya was formerly reckoned ten years earlier than now * which would make 1083 of that era correspond to A.D. 1016 or 1017. Captain Wilford thinks that Bho Pal is synonymous with Mohee Pal, that Sthir Pal is the Dhir Pal of the Ayeen Akbarce, and was father of Deb Pal of the Monghyr grant. So that Go Pal, Bho Pal, and Mohee Pal, would be the same person; Sthir Pal, Dhir Pal, and Dhorma Pal, a second, father of Deb Pal, and Deb Pal's son, Rajya Pal, would be the same as Bhoopotee Pal. It is true that, as the author says, Hindoos have two names, one only used for religious ceremonies, but that name is so carefully kept secret, for fear of enchantment, that it would certainly never be used in an inscription. I think Aboul Fazil's authority scarcely sufficient to make it necessary to twist his list of Pal kings into conformity with contemporaneous records. Besides this the name which in Gladwin's translation of the Ayeen Akbarce is given as Dhir Pal, or Dheer Pal, is, Professor Blochmann tells me, the short syllable Dhâr, or as I write it, according to Bengalee pronunciation, Dhor, the first syllable of Dhormo, and bearing no resemblance to Sthir or Stheer. I am not sure whether this is the inscription referred to by Captain Wilford at p. 260, vol. viii., Asiatic Researches where he says, "There is a beautiful pyramid at Sarnath, near Benares,

* Id., ib., p. 204.

"built by a king of Gour, or Bengal. It is conical, and of earth; with a coating of bricks, and is about seventy feet high. In the inscription found there some years ago, it is declared to be intended as a representation of Meru; which is represented as a conical figure by the Hindus, but like a square pyramid by the followers of Buddha."

Captain Wilford alludes to this inscription again at page 130, vol. x, of the same, and it is quite clear that the sons of Mollee Pal, the king of Gour, were Booddhists.

At page 442, vol. ix, Asiatic Researches, Mr. H. T. Colebrooke gives an account of a copper-plate now in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of which I possess photographs.

It was dug up in 1806, at Amgachee, Pergunna Sooltanpoor, in Dinagepoor; it is fourteen inches long and thirteen broad, and is surmounted by a seal in brass, with the name Sri Vighraha Pal Deb. Mr. Colebrooke says he could make out very little of it; but that among Vighraha Pal's ancestor's and predecessors, the following names are distinctly legible.

The first prince mentioned is Lok Pal, and after him Dhorma Pal, then an undeciphered name, then Jaya Pal, then Deb Pal. Next follow two or three undeciphered names, one of which may be Narayan Pal, then Raja Pal (blank), Pal Deb, Mohee Pal Deb, Naya Pal; and again Vighraha Pal Deb. Mr. Colebrooke thought it seemed to be a grant by Vighraha Pal Deb, in the making of which Naya Pal had some share. It is dated 9th Choitra, Sambat 12. Of what era this is the year, it is impossible to say. Mr. Colebrooke very justly remarks that eras are not generally introduced until long after the event from which they are counted, and, when first introduced, are designated by some more definite term than one merely signifying a year. He thinks the year on both the Monghyr and Amgachee plates, refers to the king's reign. I have shown the photographs to Baboo Hara Chandra Chakrabortee of Dinagepoor, and other scholars, but they could make no more out of them.

I now proceed to the consideration of an inscription which I found on a pillar in the Rajbarree of Dinagepoor, and of which I sent an account to the *Indian Antiquary*.*

The inscription is in Sanskrit, in the *kutīla* character, very clearly carved as follows:—

"*durvāśāri varūthini pramathane dānecha vidyādharaiḥ sānaṁ-
dam divi.*

"*yasya mārgganaguna grāma grabo giyate Kāmbojan vayajena
gaudapati.*

"*nā teneḍu maulerayam prāsādo niramāyi kunjara gbata*

* Page 127 of that publication, 1872.

"varshena bhúbhúshaṇah." The translation kindly given to me by Baboo Rajendra Lal Mitra runs:—"By him, whose ability in subduing the forces of his irresistible enemies, and liberality in appreciating the merits of his suitors, are sung by the Vidyadharas in celestial spheres, by that sovereign of Gour; by him, who is descended from the Kambojan line; this temple, the beauty of the Earth, was erected for the *Selene-cephalous*, in the year 888."

The Baboo remarks, "the figures I derive from the words *Kunjaraghata*, *kuṇjara* being equal to 8, the eight elephants of the quarters, and *ghaṭa* three-fold or plural. The two dots at the end might be allowed to remain to make it correspond with the masculine *prasadaḥ*, though the word *bhúshana* does not take the masculine affix. This appears to me to be the true meaning. But, if the words *varshe* be a mislection of *varshma-na*, it would mean *a temple which has many elephants carved upon it*."

The Selene-cephalous, or moon-headed, deity is Seeva, and the inscription recites, unmistakably, that the Lord of Gour, of the tribe of the Kamboja, erected a temple to Seeva. It is extremely unfortunate that the name of the king is not recorded, but I think there is good reason for believing him to be one of the Pals.

The character is the *kutila*, the same as that in which the inscriptions of that dynasty, so far as we know, are written, and which bears some signs of being the form of Nagree from which the Bengalee character is derived. The Sarnáth inscription calls Mohee Pal the Lord of Gour, not *Gour-pati*, as here, but *Gour-ádhipo*; the Buddal pillar speaks of Soor Pal as Lord of Gour, *Goureshwar*, and the Monghyr copper-plate names the *Goura* first among the people who are to hearken to the commands of Deb Pal Deb.

The pillar upon which the inscription is cut, is about half an inch more than nine feet in length, and, from the rough appearance of both ends, was evidently intended to form part of a building, in the masonry of which they were imbedded, and not like the Bodal pillar, to stand alone. It is richly carved, on all its four sides, but it is difficult to describe all the detail of the ornaments. The lower part, on one face of which is the inscription, is square, and at each corner of each face is the figure of a lion or tiger, rampant, over a small crouching elephant, all in high relief, the device being thus repeated eight times; above these figures the stone remains four-sided, with foliage and moulding, also in high relief, for a foot, or more, above which the pillar is cut into a polygon of twelve sides, the carving being continued for a few inches up it. Above the twelve-sided shaft is a festoon of twelve bells, with looped cords, each bell corresponding to one of

the angles of the shaft; and above these again several more carved mouldings, the top of the pillar being four-sided. The stone is now lying on its side, having been moved, I am told, from its former position, without having been erected in the place intended for it; my informant, an old servant of the Rajbaree, said that there was once a second pillar, corresponding to the one I have tried to describe, but that it was broken in the process of removal. I have searched for it in vain. In another part of the Rajbaree are lying, half-buried in the earth, about a dozen other pillars, of much coarser workmanship and material but bearing such a general resemblance to the carved one that all may originally well have formed part of the same building. There is little or no ornament on any of them, and the only inscription I have discovered consists of the following words, roughly cut, in the same character as that of the one already given:—

âdesacharchchika.

sri prahasitâsarmma

meaning, as Baboo Hara Chandra Chackerbuttee suggests: "Prahasit Sarmma, who sees that orders are executed." I suppose that it was a record made by the architect, or one of the head workmen, in an inconspicuous place, of his own name. Besides the pillars, there are in the Rajbaree several doorways, some incorporated into the building, others lying about in several pieces. In the inner court is one which the deep shade thrown by a projecting ornament on the lintel renders especially beautiful, as obviating the flatness usually caused by want of boldness in the carving; the workman concentrating his attention on delicacy of finish, and having little regard to the general effect. The projecting shelf, or cornice, is supported, bracketwise, by two figures in high relief, naked women to the waist, but ending in snaky coils, which are carried along the top, and down each side of the doorway, nearly to the ground. The height of the doorway is six feet ten inches, and the width three feet seven inches. The cornice contains seven empty niches, each with a canopy, probably intended for figures, and each end has been supported by something which has been knocked off, but which I think must have been the human portion of a *Naginee*, or Snake-woman, similar to the two which remain perfect under the centre. On each door post are nine niches, one above the other, some containing human figures, and some foliage or fruit; this series of niches is outside the snake-coil; and outside of it again is a deep moulding, interrupted by transverse carving every fourteen or fifteen inches, and minutely carved with foliage and tracery. At the foot of each door post are three carvings, one to each of the principal moulding; the two innermost are human figures; I am not sure what the other four are meant for.

A doorway, of larger size, being six feet and an inch in width, and when perfect probably more than ten feet in height, remains at the entrance to the stable yard only half erected, some of the remaining fragments, including the great lintel, lying around, and some having disappeared. The carving is of the same character, and perhaps by the same hand, as that of the smaller doorway, but the only human figures are three at the bottom of each doorpost. There is no Naginee, and no Lion and Elephant; nevertheless, I think it probable that they all once belonged to one temple.

There are other doorways of coarser workmanship in different parts of the building.

It is said, and I think it is very likely to be true, that these sculptures were brought to the Rajbaree by Raja Ramnath, who was zemindar of Dinagepoor from A.D. 1724 to A. D. 1760, from the ruins of Ban-nogor. Ban-nogor is close to Deb kot, which was the capital of the Mahomedans for some time after their conquest of Bengal, A.D. 1203, and is now a complete jungle, the only remains of buildings being the tomb of a Mahomedan saint, which is still decorated with four pillars, similar to the rougher ones at the Rajbaree, and with a doorway, now fallen, also corresponding to those I have described, though of less finished workmanship. This being the case, it would be natural to suppose that Raja Ramnath had taken its sculptures from the Mahomedan tomb, were it not for the following reasons. In the first place, I think that had the carvings ever been appropriated by the iconoclastic Mahomedans to the decoration of the tomb of their saint, or *peer*, they would have mutilated all the figures of human beings and animals, and, indeed, would have done so had they seen them anywhere; it is, therefore, probable that Raja Ramnath dug them out of some place where they had remained concealed.

Secondly.—I doubt whether the Hindoo zemindar of Dinagepoor would have dared, with a population more than half Mahomedan, to have pillaged the tomb of a Mahomedan saint, while the Moslems were still supreme in Bengal, although I must admit that Raja Ramnath was so far contumacious, that Sayad Ahmad, son of the Foujdar of Rungpoor, in A.D. 1737, overran his territories and those of Cooch Behar, taking a considerable amount of treasure, and receiving for his service, the title of Khan Bahadoor.*

Thirdly.—Some ancient tanks, whose Hindoo origin is shown by their length being from north to south, show that the neighbourhood of Bannogor was once occupied by Hindoos of much consideration, and in the jungle, close to the saint's tomb, are the two small tanks,

* Stewart's "Bengal," p. 431.

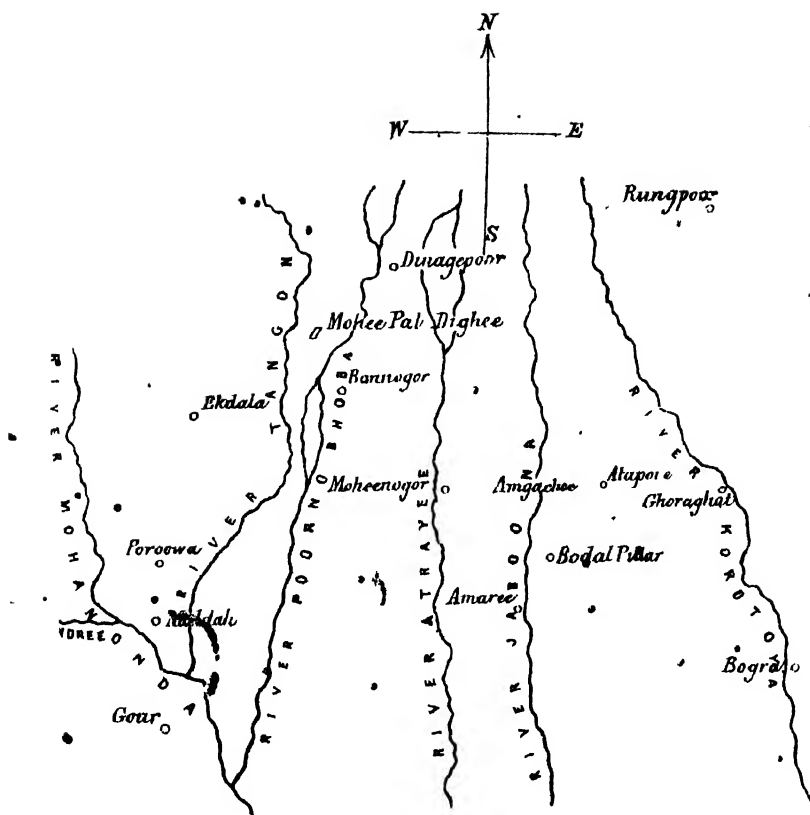
constructed of masonry, called Omrit and Jeevon, or Immortality and Life, which from their size were probably once in the courtyard of a temple and are still held sacred. It was from one of these tanks that the stone statue of Nondce or Vrisho, the bull of Seeva, was dragged, as described by Doctor Buchanan in his account of Dinagepoor,* and it is curious that tradition called it the carcass of a cow, thrown in by the infidel Yovona, to defile the sacred pools. I cannot doubt that the Yovona who were, in this instance, probably the Mahomedans, destroyed here a great temple of Seeva, most likely the one referred to in the Bajbaree inscription.

The sites of the various Pal remains may now be considered. That of Sarnath is not connected with the others, because the erection of a temple or monument in such a holy place as Benares proves nothing as to the residence of the person who built it. That of Monghyr, was, as I have stated, dated from a camp rather than from the king's permanent capital. I will therefore start from the tank Mohee Pal Dighee, which clearly indicates the name of the person who dug it, who, indeed, is still invoked as a divine power by ignorant persons in the neighbourhood, in moments of danger and distress. This tank is about eleven miles S.W. from the station of Dinagepoor. The site of Bannogor is a little more than fifteen miles S.S.W. from Dinagepoor, and seven and a half from Mohee Pal Dighee. Further East, eighteen miles from Bannogor, and twenty-five from Dinagepoor, is Moheenogor, which may record the name of the same person. Three or four miles to the eastward of this, the Amgachee copper-plate was discovered. Fourteen miles S.E. from Moheenogor, about forty from Dinagepoor, still stands the Bodal pillar. Eleven miles N.E. from the pillar, and thirty-six from Dinagepoor, is Atapoor, close to which tradition points out the sites of the houses of Oosho Pal and Mohee Pal; and a mile and a half south Doctor Buchanan† saw in the tomb of Nimay Shah, some carved stones, said to have been taken from Atapoor, one of which, the capital of a pillar, bore four tiger's heads. This I have never seen. Six miles south of the Bodal pillar, and within a mile or two of the old Bodal factory, from which Europeans have given the pillar its name, at Amaree, is shown the site of another palace of Mohee Pal, and near there of Deb Pal, and Chondro Pal. Dr. Buchanan‡ received his information respecting them at Jogeeghopa, where a temple dedicated to Seeva is served by some Yogees. It is quite possible that these Yogees may have preserved some correct tradition of the Pal kings, because Dr. Buchanan, in Rungpoor, found reason to believe that the Yogees, who were put out of fashion

* Apud Martin's "Eastern India," vol. ii, p. 610-663.

† Apud Martin's "Eastern India" vol. ii, p. 671.

‡ Page 668.



A MAP SHOWING LOCALITIES CONNECTED
WITH THE PAL KINGS OF BENGAL.

Scale/ 21 miles to 1 inch.

by Songkor, the great Brahman doctor, had been the priesthood of the unorthodox princes of the Pal dynasty, east of the Korotoya.*

A glance at the map will show how near to one another all the places are at which remains of the Pal kings of Gour have been discovered. They are nearly in a line, running north-west and south-east, and I am inclined to believe that they represent roughly the curve of the bank of the Ganges, or at least of ground more inundated in the time of the Pals than it is now. Most of it is now under water for a third of the year, and it is still gradually rising. Probably, the Pals found it too low for their capital, though the Sen dynasty which succeeded them found it high enough to build Lakhnauttee or Gour, on a bank of clay somewhat higher than the surrounding sandy loam. It is scarcely necessary to say that the country of Gour was known long before the city of the name—long since deserted—was built.

We have now advanced so far as to say that before the dynasty of Sen, which the Mahomedans found in Bengal in 1203 A.D., there was a dynasty named Pal, calling themselves lords of Gour, living at various places to the north-east of the site of the later city of Gour, in the outset Boeddhist, but afterwards, under the influence of Brahmaus, named Misra, of the Pointee, or family, of Sandeelya, becoming worshippers of Seeva. I do not think it is going too far to say that the inscription in the Dinagepore Rajbaree shows them to have been of the race of Kamboja, and I will now proceed to inquire who the Kambojas were.

Sir William Jones, quoting from the Institutes of Menu, states that many families of the military class, having gradually abandoned the ordinances of the Veda, and the company of the Brahmans, lived in a state of degradation, as the people of Pandraka and Odra, those of Dravira and Kamboja, the Yavana and Saka, the Parada and Pahlava, the China, and some other nations. I interpret this to mean that the nations enumerated were among the powerful military races which supplanted the Brahman rulers, but were recognised in the caste system by the Brahmans, who left them the rights of royalty while keeping to themselves the power of a priesthood.

In the Ramayana, Kamadevoo, the wonder-working cow of plenty, calls into existence hosts of Pahlava, Yavana, Saka, Kamboja, Barbar, Mlechha, Kirata, and Harika, by whose assistance the Brahman Vasishta overcomes Viswamitra, the Kshatriya prince of Magadha or Patna.

Professor Monier Williams † identifies the Pahlava with the Persians, the Saka with the Scythians, and the Yavana with Ionian Greeks.

* Apud Martin's "Eastern India," † Indian Epic Poetry, page 11.
Vol. III, 335

Professor Weber* says, that "the introducing of these names in such a connection could be thought of as possible only when the hosts of Pahlava, Saka, and Yavana appeared actually almost to swarm up out of the earth and to swoop victoriously down upon the Indian Kshatriya, in other words, just when the Greek, Bactrian, and, after them, the Indo-Scythian kings held sway in the north-west of India."

Again in the Ramayana, the Kamboja are enumerated among the nations to the north among whom the monkeys are sent by Soogriva to search for Seeta; the Gandhara, Yavana, Saka, Odra, Pārada, China, Paundra, Mahava, Vālhika, Rishika, Paurava, and others. (Id., ib., p. 179.)*

Captain Wilford, in a paper on the Chronology of the Hindoos, in the fifth volume of the Asiatic Researches (page 266), enumerates the Yavana, the Saka, the Kamboja, and the Kirata, as tribes whom the king of Nepal was able to lead to the assistance of Chondro-goopta against the Brahmins. The authority used here by Captain Wilford seems to have been the *Mudra Rakshasa*, by Ananta.

I have already alluded to the mention of horses from the Kamboja, but that I look upon as an allusion rather to the country where they had settled, than to the tribe, who seem to be mentioned everywhere at first as foreigners, joining in the quarrels of Indian princes, as allies, and cognate to the Pahlava, Yavana, and Saka. The mention in the inscriptions I have quoted, of the quarrels of the Pal kings with Hoona, Draveera, Ootkala, and Goojara, does not appear to me to mean necessarily that the Pals of Gour warred in the lands where these tribes eventually settled and to which they gave their names.

I have to thank Professor Max Müller for pointing out to me at page 373 of the seventh volume of the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, a reference to the language of the Kamboja in the commentary of Yaska, which Mr. Eggeling has since verified for me. This is a much earlier mention of the Kamboja than any other I know of.

If it be allowed that the Pal Kings of Gour, or of Bengal, were of the tribe of Kamboja, it seems to me probable that the other Pal kings, whose names appear in the lists of dynasties in other parts of India, and who, as Abou Rihan Albiruni records, were rulers in the Punjab, heading the Hindoo federation, when he accompanied Mahmood of Ghuznee into India, were also of that race. Albiruni enumerates eight princes (see Mr. E Thomas' Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, page 58), 1, Kalara; 2, Samanta; 3, Kamlooa; 4, Bheema; 5, Jai Pal; 6, Ananda Pal; 7;

* Boyd's translation, *Indian Antiquary*, 1872, page 178.

Nardajan Pal, 8. Bheem Pal, with whom the dynasty terminated, A.H. 516 (A.D. 1025). These princes Albiruni calls Brahmanical, but I do not suppose that he meant more by the term than that they were Hindoo. A Mahomedan would not ordinarily distinguish between Booddhist and Brahmanist, though Mr Thomas * quotes an instance from the Tami al Tawarikh, of words pointing to absolute Brahman caste, in contradistinction to mere creed. Mr. Thomas is of opinion that the four Pal princes were of a more southern and definitely Rajpoot race than their predecessors. He gives instances of coins of Ananga Pal Dev, Sallakshman Pal Dev, and Mahi Pal of Gwalior, with the device of a bull on one side and a horseman on the other. These coins are subsequent to those which bear a lion on one side and an elephant on the other, which Mr. Thomas has shown me, and I cannot trace any connection between them, and the device of the Lion rampant on the Elephant, carved on the Dinagepoor pillar.

I observe in an advertisement attached to the first number of the *Indian Antiquary*, respecting some photographs edited by Mr. Burgess, that there are temples, Jain or Booddhist, in Kattywar, ascribed to persons named Koomar Pal, Vastoo Pal and Tej Pal. I have not an opportunity of examining these, but should much like to do so, to see whether any connection could be traced between them and the Pal remains in Bengal, especially the Lion and Elephant device, which must have a meaning, and probably means the triumph of a race whose device or title was a lion, or the name Singh, over one which bore the device or title of an elephant. I saw a stone about two feet by a foot and a half, some weeks ago, while riding through old Maldah, on which the Lion and Elephant device were carved in high relief. I could find no clue to its history. In the last number of the *Indian Antiquary*, † I observe the following passage in a translation by Baboo Rajendra Lal Mitra of a copper-plate inscription of Gobind Chandra Deb, of Kanouj:—"Then Chandra Deva became king. Of him "was born the renowned of earth, Madan Pal,—a Lion to the "inimical Elephant, the Lord of Ila, who engaged himself "in frequent warfare, etc. etc." This Madan Pal was not son of a Pal, but of Chandra Deb, and his son was Gobind Chandra Deb, but the titles Deb and Pal are always intimately connected, and their inscription, which Baboo Rajendra Lal dates in the beginning of the 12th century A.D., just when the Pals must have been reigning in Bengal, connects a Pal king unmistakeably with the device of the Elephant borne down by the Lion.

Mr. J. Fergusson, the author of "Indian Architecture," has shown me a photograph of a pillar in the temple of Rajranee, in

* Page 54, "Chronicles of Pathan Kings." † Page 174, Part xxxi, vol. iii.

Orissa, which bears in the upper part a Naginee, and in the lower three couchant elephants, each with a lion, or tiger rampant over it. The Naginee is much more artistically treated than in the Dinagepoor doorway, the serpent's tail being coiled most naturally once round the pillar, whereas, in the Dinagepoor carving, the serpentine coils are treated with an unnatural, and conventional stiffness. Mr. Fergusson considers the Rajanee carving two hundred years earlier than another, in which the coils of the Naginee are treated exactly as at Dinagepoor, although the human portion of the figures is proportionally smaller, and, at the bottom, instead of the top of the composition. Assuming, as I do that the Naginee doorway, and the Lion and Elephant pillar at Dinagepoor, came from the same building, I think the coincidence of the two devices points to an origin similar to that of the Rajanee temple, though, perhaps, a century or two later. My uncle, Richard Westmacott, in his Handbook of Sculpture, has shown with reference to Egyptian art that it was the policy of a priesthood to preserve in sculpture when applied to religious purposes, a fixed, conventional, and somewhat unnatural type, in order to guard against the effect on ignorant worshippers of changes in the form of the objects of their adoration, and therefore where I find the Naginee so treated, I am inclined to think that the work was supervised by priests, and that the representation of the fabulous creature was intended for the eye of a worshipper, as much as for the purpose of mere decoration. I believe that the Lion and Elephant device may lead to the discovery of some real evidence regarding the dynasty that used it.

The Bodal pillar I look on rather as the work of the Brahman minister than of the Pal king; it has now no ornament, but was once decorated with the great bird Garoor on the top, like a pillar at Jájpoor described by Mr. Hunter.*

Mr. Hunter, in another place† speaking of the sculptures at Kanarak, describes how "elephants crouch in terror under "rampant lions," which seems to point to the device I am looking for. This is in one of the temples dedicated to sun-worship, which followed upon the decay of Booddhism. In connection with it, it is true, I find no trace of the name of Pal, but I hear of the race of the Yovona that appear so often in connection with the Kamboja. Mr. Hunter‡ tells how he learnt from chronicles of the Madras coast, that a dynasty in Andhra on the Godavery, was over-thrown and succeeded by nine kings of the Yavana, who ruled from 505 to 963 A.D., and whose fall was simultaneous with the revival of Brahmanism, even as the fall

* Orissa, vol. i, 267.

† Id., ib., vol. i, page 220.

‡ Id., ib., vol. ii, page 293.

of the Pal kings, whom I assume to be of the cognat erace of Amboja, was followed in Bengal by the revival of Brahmanism and of the caste system under Adisoor and his successor Bolal Sen. I have already mentioned that Abool Fazil places Adisoor and a whole dynasty before the Pals, and Professor Lassen follows him. Doctor Buchanan's informants make Adisoor the successor of the Pals, and the father of Bolal Sen, and it seems to me extremely probable that this latter story is the correct one. It is agreed that Adisoor introduced families of Brahmins into Bengal, and that Bolal Sen thoroughly reorganised the caste system, which appears to me to have been only a further development of the same policy, as would be likely if Bolal Sen were the son of Adisoor. Then, again, the fall of a Booddhist dynasty, would be the most likely time to find the succeeding dynasty, who had probably overthrown it, employed in the revival of Brahmanism, so that, if Adisoor dethroned or slew the last of the Booddhist Pals, it is natural to find the same Adisoor introducing anew a Brahman priesthood, and his son and successor developing a Brahmanical caste system. It is quite possible that the Brahman ministers, whose arrogance and rising power are shadowed forth in the Bodal inscription, may have had some hand in the fall of their Pal masters, and in the succession of Adisoor, the patron of Brahmanism. One step further, and we may guess that, while the Yavana were overthrowing Brahmanical dynasties in Southern India, the Kamboja, Booddhists, under leaders named Pal, were establishing a similar sovereignty over the Goura in Bengal, and that their fall, even as that of the Yavana, was the signal for Brahmanism starting into new life.

An additional reason for my thinking that the Kamboja, like the Yavana, overran India as foreigners, has been that among the nations enumerated as subdued by the Pals in the inscriptions, are none of those mentioned with the Kamboja and Yavana, the Pahlava, Saka, Kirata, and Melechha, in various places to which I have already alluded, but the Dravira, Goojara, Ootkala, and Karnata, old inhabitants of the land; the Hoons, earlier invaders, the day of whose power had gone by, and low castes, such as the Chondala, who had been subdued and degraded in times more ancient still. The wars of the Kamboja were against the inhabitants of the land, and not against those who were invaders like themselves.

An inscription was discovered by Mr. Broadley and at Ghosrawon in which the king Deb Pal is mentioned.* The character is the *kutila* and this may or may not be the Deb Pal of the Monghyr copper-plate, and of the Monghyr inscription. At page 281, Mr. Broadley describes a statue of Booddha seated on a

* Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1872.

throne, at each corner of which occurs a "well-executed figure of a lion in the act of tearing to pieces the skull of a fallen elephant." Here we have the device for which I am looking, in connection with Booddhism; the lion is in the act of conquest, not rejoicing in victory, rampant, on the body of its prostrate foe.

At page 290 is described a carving of a dragon and its rider in the act of destroying an elephant.

At page 297 is given an inscription of Vighraha Pal Deb.

Unfortunately none of these Behar inscriptions assist us in re-constructing the Pal dynasty, for none of them even give the name of a king's father, and the readings of the dates are doubtful. Several of the names agree with those of Pal kings given in the inscriptions I have discussed, but there is nothing further to point to their identity, not even the name of Gour. I can only say that the inscriptions point unmistakably to a connection between Pal kings and Booddhism, and that the occurrence of the device of an elephant vanquished by a lion, among the Booddhist remains, is a curious coincidence.

I began in England to put together what scraps of evidence I had collected about the Pal kings, their Booddhism, their conquests, and introduction of a new religion; their sovereignty over the Goura or inhabitants of Bengal, and their connection with the Kamboja nation; and with the carven device of the Lion victorious over the Elephant, but I came out to India before I had time to throw my notes into consecutive form, and since my arrival I have scarcely had leisure to read them over, far less to re-write them. Hence the disconnected form in which they appear. The subject appears to me one of interest, and I may some day return to it. There is one point upon which it may be thought that I have failed to dwell with due emphasis, and that is the dates as read by Baboo Rajendra Lal Mitra. The readings are most ingenious, and coincide curiously with the period to which the Pal kings must be assigned, namely, the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries of the Christian era. It may turn out some day that the Baboo is correct, but I find his readings disputed by so many eminent Sanskrit scholars, that I hesitate to accept them as materials for building up a theory. If I could do so, they would be of the greatest assistance in throwing the Pal dynasty into shape.

E. VESEY WESTMACOTT.

DINAGEPOOR, }
June, 1874. }

ART. V.—ON LEGAL EDUCATION. (*Independent Section.*)

BY JNO. G. W. SYKES, LL.B., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

"I call therefore a complete and generous education, that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices both private and public, of peace and war."

MILTON.

"That there should one man die ignorant who had capacity for knowledge this I call a tragedy, were it to happen more than twenty times in the minute, as by some computations it does. The miserable fraction of Science which our united mankind, in a wide universe of nescience, has acquired, why is not this, with all diligence, imparted to all?"

CARLYLE.

IT has been said that on the subject of education there is in all literature but one passage adequate to the subject and that that passage is to be found in Goethe's 'Wilhelm Meister.' We may well be thankful that the DeAugustinis and Milton's letter to Master Hartlib stand to give the lie to such a dictum which yet contains only too large a germ of truth. The most recent call to a review of our ideas on this subject is given by the Autobiography of John Stuart Mill. In telling the story of his life, that great thinker attempts to show that the work of education should begin almost at birth and that our first lessons in the knowledge of things human and divine—*Divinarum atque humanarum rerum scientia*—should, so to speak, be imbibed at the mother's breast. For our own part we have always maintained that very early in life a child's future career should be determined and a preparation for a manful fulfilment of its duties entered on.* If this were the case we should not hear as we constantly do now when men are on the eve of leaving the University to join in the strife of life and to take some position in the social machinery of their country that they are undecided as to which of the professions they shall choose. Whether this is an unusual termination of a student's University life my readers know. Is it not the rule that our University men have to determine on a profession at the close of their University life?† Choose

* "One cannot do a young man a greater kindness than initiate him early in the future business of life" Goethe's 'Wilhelm Meister,' Carlyle's translation, vol. 1, p. 38.

† This is very often the case even with reading men. Says Mr. Seely, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge:—"I know a man who had an almost

unprecedented career of success at Cambridge who had so completely made success of this sort his end, that when he had exhausted the prizes of the University, he confessed he did not know what next to do or how to employ himself. Another Alexander!" (Essays on a Liberal Education, p. 162.)

at this time indeed ! The choice should have been made ten or fifteen years previously and the whole course of study and of mental and moral training regulated accordingly.

If of all that has been written on general education so little is worthy of the subject still more is this the case with that particular branch of education with which we are concerned—the training of a lawyer. The pith of the whole will be found in a short paper of Austin's "On the Study of Jurisprudence ;" in his tabulated "Idea of a complete Legal Education" ; and in Sir H. S. Maine's Essay on 'Roman Law and legal Education,' in the Cambridge Essays of 1856. That the whole question requires re-consideration in this country, at least witness the Bench, the Bar and the pleaders ; witness the monstrosity of ignorance to be met with in the law-courts of this country and the manifest want of legal talent of a high class.

If the science of law in India is to be improved, the improvement must be accomplished by a class of men trained very differently from past generations. Early in life the work must begin, and in their first schools and colleges the future lawyers must receive training on which a sound legal education can be based. Youths intended for the study and practice of the law should receive a fair general education, comprising classics, mathematics, and logic, with the restrictions to be suggested.

As to logic it is difficult to lay down any fixed rules. What is to be aimed at is clear and accurate thinking : and whole courses of logic may be gone through without this end being attained. Yet where a man is possessed of such a high qualification either naturally or by way of education a knowledge of the rules of logic is a mighty engine. We shall see hereafter how and by what courses accuracy of thought will in probability be attained.

A thorough acquaintance with portions of mathematical enquiry during a youth's school days is calculated to induce a habit of mind which will be of infinite value to the lawyer. If a boy show a thorough appreciation of Euclid's elements, we would point him out as having peculiar qualifications for the legal profession. Yet it is difficult to see why men intended for the law should study mathematics except so far as methods of investigation, and proof are concerned.* And it is no argument for the contrary proposition that many distinguished English Judges took high rank in mathematics, as students.

As to classical studies, Austin strongly recommends the study of both Greek and Latin ; indeed, he says they are almost indispensable helps to all sound acquirements in politics, jurisprudence or of any of the moral sciences. They are also requisite for the formation of those elevated senti-

* Austin, vol. II, p. 1122.

ments and that rectitude of judgment and taste which are inseparably connected with them. These languages may be acquired, and in fact are acquired, when well acquired, in early youth."* On this point though we feel the audacity of expressing views different from those of so high an authority as Austin, we shall state why, whilst we, of course, admit that the knowledge of Greek is truly desirable as being the language of the New Testament and of the translation of the Seventy, of the Aristotelian logic, of the contemplations of Plato, of the raptures of Demosthenes and of the most beautiful ideal picture of antiquity, "The tale of Troy divine," we should not recommend the study of it to the lawyer. The lawyer is concerned with jurisprudence—acquirements in politics are for the statesman. For the lawyer the study of Greek is not necessary, nor indeed directly useful. Let the reader ask himself, Do the causes which make a knowledge of Latin so desirable for the lawyer exist to any extent in favour of Greek? We think not. Of the private law of the Athenians we know little authoritatively; nor if we knew more would it probably greatly benefit us. Greece too soon lost her independence for her lawyers to accomplish aught corresponding to the work of the Roman Jurisconsults; as Sir H. S. Maine has said, "The Greek intellect with all its nobility and elasticity was quite unable to confine itself within the straight-waistcoat of a legal formula."† The Athenians found that injustice might result if a particular rule of law were adhered to in a given case and they departed from it, not recognising that one of the greatest calamities which can come to a nation is uncertainty in its laws. *Misera est servitus, ubi jus est, vagum aut incertum.*‡ *Etenim optima est lex, quæ minimum relinquit arbitrio judicis.*§ So says our great philosopher but this principle of a more advanced jurisprudence the Greeks ignored.¶ "A community," continues Sir H. S. Maine, "which never hesitated to relax rules of written law whenever they stood in the way of an ideally perfect decision on the facts of a particular case, would only, if it bequeathed any body of judicial principles to posterity, bequeath one consisting of ideas of right and wrong which happened to be prevalent at the time; such a jurisprudence would contain no framework to which the more advanced conceptions of subsequent ages could be fitted. It would amount at best to a philosophy marked with the imperfections of the civilization under which it grew up."|| To the lawyer, the study of the Greek language is

* Austin, vol. II, p. 1122.

† Ancient Law, p. 75.

‡ 4. Inst. 246.

§ De Augustinis, Lib. VIII., Cap. III., Aph. 46.

|| There are flagrant departures from Lord Bacon's principle in the Indian Evidence Act, 1872.

¶ Ancient Law, p. 76.

of small importance as a key to the jurisprudence of the Greeks, and the English reader wishing to study the fragments of the laws of the Athenians will do so better in the translated writings of Heeren, Miller, Bœckh, C. F. Hermann, and Wachsmuth and in the articles of Charles Rann Kennedy in Smith's "Dictionary of Antiquities" than with even a considerable knowledge of Greek in the originals. For the lawyer, therefore, "there seems no adequate reason why Latin and Greek should be regarded as a sort of linguistic Siamese twins, which Nature has joined together and which would wither if separated. No doubt the study of one is a good preparation for the study of the other; but it has no special need of it for its own completeness. The qualities of the two languages and the reasons which make it desirable to study them are in many respects very different; and it is only as a palpable looseness of thought that they can be joined together in discussions as they frequently are."* But, says Austin, Greek is necessary to form the lawyer's tastes and for his general culture. But he may be well content to give up Homer, Sophocles, Plato, Demosthenes and even Aristotle if thereby he obtains leisure for the study of Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon and Burke. And further, as it has been said, "even if it be granted that we cannot dispense with the lessons of the ancient world, it is easy to exaggerate the disadvantages of learning them through the medium of modern languages."†

Of Latin, however, the lawyer can by no means afford to be ignorant. It has been the universal language of Christendom too long for that; it is the key to the literature of the middle ages, and, above all, it is the language of Roman Law. Amongst the reasons which make the study of Roman Law so advantageous to the lawyer are these:

First.—It is the best organon he can have. It was a remark of Leibnitz "that the study of Roman Law, after that of the severer sciences was the best discipline for the mind, and that the digest furnishes the best examples of the application of the rules of logic to the affairs of civil life."‡ And though the authority of Leibnitz needs no support, I will add that of Sir H. S. Maine. He says: "Most certainly nothing can be more peculiar, special

* H. Sidgwick, M.A. "Essays on a Liberal Education," pp. 84-5.

† Idem, pp. 104-5; De Quincey's works, Vol. XIII, p. 58 and on. It strongly supports the view here contended for to be able to state that the University of London after discussion "long drawn out" has at length removed Greek from the compulsory to the optional subjects of its matriculation

examination.

‡ "Digestorum opus (vel protius auctorum unde excerpta sunt labores) admiror; nequidquam vidi sive rationum acumen, sive dicendi nervos spectes, quod magis accedat ad mathematicorum laudem," &c. Leibnitz Epist. ad Kestermum. Oper. tom. IV., pars III, p. 254.

and distinct than the bias of thought, the modes of reasoning, and the habits of illustration, which are given by a training in the Roman Law. No tension of mind, no length of study which even distantly resembles the labour of mastering English Jurisprudence is necessary to enable the student to realise these peculiarities of mental view; but still they cannot be acquired without some effort, and the question is, whether the effort which they demand brings with it sufficient reward. We can only answer by endeavouring to point out that they pervade whole departments of thought and inquiry of which some knowledge is essential to every lawyer, and to every man of decent education.”*

Second.—The Roman Law is the substratum of the laws of almost all nations of modern Europe, and is fast becoming the *lingua franca* of universal jurisprudence. Here, again, Sir H. S. Maine writes excellently: “It may confidently be asserted that if the English lawyer only attached himself to the Roman Law long enough to master the technical phraseology, and to realise the leading conceptions of the *Corpus Juris*, he would approach those questions of foreign law to which our courts have repeatedly to address themselves with an advantage which no mere professional acumen acquired by the exclusive practice of our own jurisprudence could ever confer on him. The steady multiplication of legal systems adopting the principles and appropriating the greater part of the rules of Roman Jurisprudence, is one of the most singular phenomena of our day and far more worthy of attention than the most showy manifestations of social progress.†

Third.—The Roman Law has intrinsic merit as a repository of useful laws. Austin says “Nor is the Roman Law to be resorted to as a magazine of legislative wisdom,”‡ and the context indicates that in the ‘legislative’ he intends to include ‘legal’ wisdom. But we beg to deny his assertion and we are amazed that he should ever have been betrayed into making it. In our opinion the lawyer of modern times who will study the Roman doctrines of successions, of the measure of damages, and the analysis of obligations will find himself richly rewarded.

Fourth.—The Roman Law presents a remarkable specimen of average legal development. We see law in its infancy, youth, and manhood. We do not see it in its decay, for codification saved it from that, and it is embalmed in the *Corpus Juris*. It is interesting to compare it, in this respect, with the English legal system of the present day. In its early stages we find the Roman Law hard and fixed. We have it engraved on XII Tables, a symbol of its intended fixity. To this Tacitus bears witness

* Cambridge Essays, 1856, p. 4.

† *Ibid.*, p. 17, p. 14.

‡ Austin's “Jurisprudence,” Vol. II.

p. 1115.

when he speaks of the law of the XII Tables as "*Finis Cæqui Juris*."* In the course of time this is found to require relaxation, and the equitable jurisdiction of the Prætors springs up. Through the force of circumstances † the equitable jurisdiction of the Prætors became fixed. The lava solidified. In the next stage we see the law oppressed by its own weight, and Justinian determining on its codification and on the fusion of law and equity, so that we read the two together in his compilations, *e.g.*, of obligations *aut civiles sunt aut prætorie, etc.* This is exactly what has occurred in English Law. The Common Law is hard. To the source from which alleviation might have been got the Judges declined to go.‡ "*The Englishman*," says John Hill Burton, the historian of Scotland, "disdained the universal Justinian jurisprudence, and would be a law unto himself, which he called with an affectation of humility '*The Common Law*.'" It is full, no doubt, of patches taken out of the *Corpus Juris*, but so far from this source being acknowledged the civilians are never spoken of, but to be railled at and denounced, and when great draughts on the Roman system were found to be absolutely necessary to keep the machine of justice in motion, these were entirely elbowed out of the way by the Common Law and had to form for themselves a separate machinery of their own called Equity.§ That system of equity has now become settled. It is governed by rules and precedents as much as the Common Law, and the question of the fusion of the two is being widely discussed in England.

Again, without a knowledge of Roman Law many great works, *e.g.*, Hugo Grotius, "*De jure Belli et Pacis*," are unintelligible.|| and as Dr. Jebb has said,¶ in the Latin books read in schools and colleges many passages occur which to ordinary readers ignorant of legal history are either incomprehensible or wholly misinterpreted.

We may therefore admit that no counsel would be "rightly styled 'learned in the law' if he could not read the Institutes of Justinian in the original, or were ignorant of the history of that people from whose Code Civil and Criminal, all the laws of all modern nations are ultimately derived, and whose language still furnishes the whole legal phraseology." **

The student having gained some knowledge of Roman Law in the Institutes of Gaius and of Justinian, and of its history in the

* III., Annual 27.

† For the most interesting account of which, see Sir H. S. Maine's *Ancient Law*, Chap. III.

‡ Temp. Rich II, the Judges at common law prohibited the citation of Roman Law in their Courts. 1 Spence Equity, 346.

§ Burton's "*Scot Abroad*," Vol. I, p. 237.

|| *Cambridge Essays*, 1856, pp. 5-7, transcribed *Anc. Law*, pp. 350-3.

¶ *Encyclop. Metrop.*, Art. *Roman Law*.

** W. G. Clarke, M.A., *Cambridge Essays*, 1855, p. 306.

works of such writers as Heineccius and Ortolan, should proceed to Jurisprudence continuing at the same time his studies in the former subject.*

And what do we mean by Jurisprudence? The term presents, even at this day and to the scientific lawyer, ideas by no means clearly determined. Austin has defined Jurisprudence as the 'philosophy or science of positive law.'† This definition though fulfilling hardly a single requisition of the logicians is perhaps the best that has yet been given. To the difficulty of providing definitions in this science we shall hereafter advert : at present we confine ourselves to this of Austin, 'Jurisprudence is the philosophy or science of positive law.' This definition does not declare the facts and all the facts, connected with the word—does not recount the *essentiae* attributes of that to be defined‡ It contains the name of the thing to be defined, *Jurisprudence—law*. It is by no means precise and adequate. It is expressed in obscure language : what is "philosophy," what "science," what "law," and what "positive law"? §

First, a law (*sensa latiore*) is a rule laid down for the guidance of an intelligent being by an intelligent being having power over him. And every positive law is such a rule set by a monarch or sovereign body to a person or persons in a state of subjection to its author. It would be well if we could as easily answer the question 'what is philosophy?' which, indeed, is one of the most hopeless and intricate questions, and one which has puzzled and will for ever divide thinking men. We shall not enter upon it here, seeing that we have the term 'Science' to fall back upon, which we can far more easily explain.* "A science is a body of principles and deductions to explain some object matter."|| To fulfil its intention every science must have attained to true statements concerning its object matter so far as the nature of the case and the present means of examination allow ; it must be able to define the object matter (Cf. Austin's Determination of the Province of Jurisprudence) "and its several subordinate parts with clearness and precision ; and it must be able to indicate the extent of the domain the object matter covers, and lastly, it must exhibit the results in a systematic and harmonious shape. For the first it must employ Induction and Deduction ; the second is the province of definition ; the third is provided for by division ; and the fourth may be referred to method."¶

* The student would do well to peruse Gibbon's comprehensive and masterly sketch of Roman Law in the 44th chapter of the Decline and Fall ; which the continental jurists of more than one nation have thought worthy of translation and separate

publication.

† Vol. I., p. 33, etc.

‡ Mill's Logic, Vol I., p. 154.

§ Archbishop Thomson's "Outline of the Laws of Thought," pp. 88-9.

|| Idem, p. 10.

¶ Idem p. 210.

A science is a body of permanent and universal facts, so arranged that each part has a bearing on every other part and on the whole, arising from and being the result of observation, comparison or experiment. Jurisprudence is a true science, for it is a body of principles and deductions explaining an object matter, and it deals with facts which are in one sense permanent and universal, and with their logical arrangement. Jurisprudence, then, being the science of positive law and having to do with whatever is essential in and common to all systems of law, the uses of it as a study are almost self-evident. To the lawyer a perfect body of jurisprudence would be a key to every system of law in the world.* To the legislator the study is of even greater importance. For only by means of it can the legislator know how to give effect to his own ideas and his own purposes.* And he whose duty it is to make laws for the guidance of his fellows should know something of the effects which such laws as he is bent on introducing are likely to have. Most often he is merely adopting, consciously or unconsciously, in a modified form, a law of some other state. To see then the results of his contemplated legislation in that other country, its defects and failure, is of the last importance.† Something of this method was passed by the learned author of the *Esprit des Lois* throughout his system of Jurisprudence: a system which with all its exaggerations, defects, and often needless indecency, still claims the attention of legislators.‡

Law is constantly spoken of in all circles as a 'dry study,' and as the lawyer has gone through it for the past half century, could it fail to be so? "In England the study of law has always been mainly historical, but historical in the narrowest possible sense. The student has been obliged to familiarize himself in some degree with the successive accretions by which the irregular mass has grown. He is exhorted to fill up his odd moments with a manual written in the reign of Edward IV (an eminent conveyancer, now dead, used, as he told his pupils, to repeat *Littleton* to himself as he walked along the Strand); he is acquainted with the whole family

* John Stuart Mill, *Edinburgh Review* vol. 121, p. 441.

† "Præterea si de lege ferenda quærat, neminem vestram fugit, quam sit necessarium, aliorum populorum mores nosse atque instituta, ut intelligatur numqua ejusmodi lex apud eos obtinuerit, et utrum comprobata fuerit usu nec ne. Sic et imperatorum Byzantinorum leges examinasse juvat. Exempli gratia, iurjurandi usus restringendus ne sit nec ne, nuper magnopere disceptatum est. Jam vero extat, lex imperatrix Irene

quæ ab omni iuramento abstinendum esse præcipit. Ex cujus historia quam quæstio illa egregie illustrari possit cur non iidem, qui, quæ in Parlamento Anglico de eadem re nuper dicta atque acta sunt, studiosius legamus et examinemus, ad Irene constitutionem animum advertimus." (C. E. Zachariæ "Historiæ Juris Græco-Romani Delineatio; cum appendice inedito: um" 8vo. Heidelberg. 1839. Preface, p. vi.)

‡ Lord Wrottesley's "Thoughts on Government and Legislation," p. 168.

of obsolete tenures, and can recite the pedigree of an estate tail. But he is rarely taught to connect his knowledge of these things with the history of his country, and his range is practically bounded by the Norman Conquest and the Four Seas. Beyond these limits all is a *terra incognita* to him.* We do not hesitate to say that the only rational and enjoyable method of studying law is that scientific method which is the source of Jurisprudence; and that such a method will be found reasonable and agreeable. Said the greatest of all political philosophers, well-nigh a century ago, in his eloquent paraphrase of the wisdom displayed by Lord Bacon† on this subject: "There is scarce any object of curiosity more rational, than the origin, the progress and the various revolutions of human laws. Political and military relations are for the greater part accounts of the ambition and violence of mankind; this is an history of their justice. And rarely there cannot be a more pleasing speculation than to trace the advance of men in an attempt to imitate the Supreme Ruler in one of the most glorious of his attributes; and to attend them in the exercise of a prerogative, which it is wonderful to find intrusted to the management of so weak a being. In such an enquiry we shall frequently see great instances of frailty; but at the same time we shall behold such noble efforts of wisdom and equity, as seem fully to justify the reasonableness of that extraordinary disposition, by which men in one form or other, have been always put under the dominion of creatures like themselves. For what can be more instructive than to search out the first obscure and scanty fountains of that Jurisprudence, which now waters and enriches whole nations with so abundant and copious a flood—to observe the first principles of *Right* springing up, involved in superstition, and polluted with violence; until by length of time and favourable circumstances, it has worked itself into clearness, the laws sometimes lost and trodden down in the confusion of wars and tumults, and sometimes overruled by the hand of power: then victorious over tyranny, growing stronger, clearer, and more decisive by the violence they had suffered; enriched even by those foreign conquests which threatened their entire destruction; softened and mellowed by peace and religion, improved and exalted by commerce, by social intercourse, and by that great opener of the mind, ingenuous science."‡

To take an instance, I can imagine no keener intellectual pleasure than that of the student turning away from the Institutes of Justinian. Lib. 1, Tit. 22, to his text-book on Hindu Law, Tit. Marriage; §

* *Quarterly Review*, No. 219, p. 116.

History, Bk. III, chap. IX.

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† De Augustis. Lib. VIII in

§ Grady's Manual of Hindu Law,

loco.

p. 20.

‡ Burke's Abridgment of English

and finding how a difficulty of the old Roman Lawyers was overcome by the subtler pandits of the East, thence proceeding in thought to the 'Contagious Diseases Prevention Act' 29, 30 Vict., c. 35. This instance is but one of many.* We have chosen it rather than others as bearing on one of the most difficult problems in modern legislation in England; most difficult on account of the conflicting duties of the legislator. He has to legislate in a Christian and a free state. Christianity on the one hand tells him he must attend to men's bodies as well as their souls; on the other it tells him that having enjoined purity in the social relations it cannot allow him to facilitate departures from these injunctions. And, as though the conflict were not already great enough, the free spirit of the nation tells him to leave the persons of its members as free as possible.

One of the chief difficulties in the study of Jurisprudence arises from the way in which almost every law term is loosely applied in conversation. "*Juris vocabulum valde est ambiguum*." Hence it has been said that "a well-made lexicon of the legal terms of all systems would be a complete science of jurisprudence."†

This statement ignores systematic arrangement and organization. The alphabetical arrangement of a lexicon cannot be considered such. This statement, too, makes Jurisprudence no longer a science by doing away with its principles and deductions. Bentham, setting out on his titanic labours in this science, saw clearly the difficulty to which we are adverting and to this is to be ascribed that barbarous language which has repelled so many from the study of his works and which caused such sneers in his day at the writings of himself and his coterie. Bentham coined a language for himself which till recent times kept his writings "as good as manuscript." To the same cause and to the fact of the oral delivery of his lectures are due to the peculiarities of Austin's style which, with all its logical clearness, is by no means attractive to the novice. The science of law, as, indeed, every other science, could never have existed had it not had its own peculiar terminology,‡ for which it is in the greatest measure indebted to the Roman Law and to the Latin language. One object of the science of Jurisprudence is to obviate and remove this difficulty by defining the meanings of the technical terms of the law. In pursuing this object the jurist has to contend with two difficulties; first, to define one term he must assume the

* Another instance occurs to us. Compare the rule of the XII Tables, (Circ. 450. B.C.) as to the conduct of females at funerals—(Tab. X. provis. 4), with the comparatively recent abolition of the Satti in India, Regulation XVII of 1829. From this

Tenth Table also, by the way, may be seen the antiquity of false teeth.

† John Stuart Mill, *Edinburgh Review*, vol. 121, p. 443.

‡ De Quincey's Works, Vol. V, pp. 237-8; Vol. XIII., pp. 86-94.

meaning of many others ; and, secondly, popular moral terms are the same as law terms. To illustrate the first point I need only refer to Austin's definition of Jurisprudence. An example of the second is found at once in the word 'robbery' which in popular language may mean no more than theft or cheating, but which in English Law means larceny accompanied with violence.

The position which the Inns of Court, following in the rear of the Universities are attempting to give to the studies we have advocated is the strongest recognition we can have of their usefulness. Numbers of those who throng the Inns of Court are students from India. We need hardly point out that after a training such as the Universities of this country provide for them, the curriculum in the faculty of laws in the Calcutta University reads like the *Menu* of a dinner *à la mode Française*,*— these students are at the greatest disadvantage in comparison with their more favoured English fellow students. We therefore call upon the governing bodies of the Indian Universities to give to these men an education equal or not needlessly* inferior to that given to our countrymen at home. After a training such as that which we have suggested the student may proceed to study the particular system of law of the country in which he is to practise ; and he will do so with extended views and an enlightenment of mind which but for his previous training he could never have had.

But as "probability is the very guide of life,† the question arises, is it possible and probable that the scheme of legal education here proposed can be carried out? It is sufficient answer to say that such was the training of an English lawyer seventy years ago,‡ and of a Scottish lawyer in even later times.§ To such a system of education the English lawyers are just now rapidly returning,|| and we may venture to hope that 'the perceptible decline of legal learning in the profession, the greater uncertainty in the decisions of the Courts, and the greater feeble-

* Since writing the above we have been favoured with the regulations for a Degree in Laws in the Bombay University. The course in many particulars carries out our views. The books recommended are of a high class and suitable to form the foundation of a sound legal education.

† Butler's "Analogy." Introduction.
‡ Quarterly Review, No 219, p. 114.

§ "It was long an almost necessary qualification for the Bar in Scotland that one had studied the Civil Law abroad. There are, perhaps, lawyers

old enough to remember when the sayings of some Continental Civilian of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, Viglius, Zuichemus, Rittershusius, Puffendorf, Noodt, Voet, and the like might be cited just as aptly as a decision a few years old in some case about a breach of warranty in the insurance of a vessel, or the import of a contract for sale of goods in a bonded ware-house." (Burton's 'Scot Abroad,' Vol I., pp. 238-9.)

|| See recent Regulations of the Inns of Court.

ness and more frequent failures in legislation,' which Lord Selborne ten years ago declared to be the result of the narrow system of study to which men intending to practise have hitherto been generally confined, will in due course be removed.

And now we have done. In Lord Bacon's phrase, 'we have taken upon us to ring a bell to call the wits together, which is the meanest office.' Are there any? Will they come?

JNO. G. W. SYKES.

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ART. VI.—THE BENGAL POLICE.

Being a history of the working of Act V of 1861 in Bengal from 1862 to 1874.

THE Government of India having recently called upon all subordinate governments and administrations for a report upon certain proposals of the Bengal Government to amend Act V of 1861, it will not be inopportune perhaps to consider for a little how this Act has been worked in Bengal since it became law.

In order clearly to comprehend the question in all its bearings it will be necessary briefly to review the various systems of criminal administration which, from time to time, have found favour with our rulers and to consider the circumstances which led to the introduction of Act V.

From the days of Lord Cornwallis there has been much conflict of opinion as to the best system of criminal administration, and according as the partisans of one system or another were in power has the form of administration varied.

In 1787 the offices of Civil Judge, Collector, and Magistrate were combined in the hands of one officer at the head of each district.

In 1793 Lord Cornwallis separated the office of Collector from that of the Civil Judge, and the Revenue Officer was made distinct from the Police Magistrate. In each district a Civil Judge was appointed, who was also Chief Police Officer and Magistrate, and under him an Assistant called a Registrar was appointed. The Collector was an independent officer and confined his attention solely to revenue duties; and a Court of Circuit visited each district in turn, doing exactly the duty now performed by a Sessions Judge. This arrangement continued until 1830.

In 1830 the magistracy was taken away from the Civil Judge and made over to the Collector who thus became Chief Police and Revenue Officer. The Registrar was taken from the Judge and placed under the Collector becoming, in fact, the Joint-Magistrate and Deputy Collector of the present day. The Civil Judge of each district became also its Sessions Judge.

In 1836 a violent outcry was raised about the state of the Police, and the Governor-General directed a Commission to assemble and report on the whole question of police administration. This Commission reported in very strong language against the union of the two offices of Collector and Magistrate and recommended their immediate separation.

In 1838 these two offices were accordingly separated and from

that time until 1860 there were in each district a Magistrate who was also Chief Police Officer, a Collector who was purely Collector, and a Judge who tried both civil and criminal cases.

In 1855 the European community throughout India was startled by the revelations of the Madras Torture Commission, and the question of police reform again came to the front. The Commissioners appointed to investigate alleged cases of torture thus concluded their report to the Madras Government: "But it seems to us questionable whether, to render the police efficient, it must not be placed under independent European authority. Although the Collector would still remain the political head of his whole province and retain all power and authority as Justice of the Peace and Magistrate, it will probably be thought that the police cannot be organised, brought up to or kept in the requisite state of discipline unless it be commanded by an officer who should give his whole undivided time and energies exclusively to that object."

These words strike the key-note of all subsequent attempts at police reform. Much discussion took place as to the precise shape these reforms were to take, and long correspondence followed between the Government of Madras, the Government of India, and the Court of Directors which ended in 1857 by sanction being accorded by the Honourable Court of Directors to the re-organization of the police on the system advocated by the Madras Government. The main feature of that system and one upon which all the authorities were unanimously agreed was that "the police should be made a separate department, organised, trained, and controlled by its own officers under the direct supervision of Government." There was, however, considerable difference of opinion as to whether any controlling authority should be given to the Magistrate-Collector the political head of the district.

Lord Harris, then Governor of Madras, in his minute of September 1856, wrote: "I will at once mention that no police force can be efficient unless it be placed under one command, and unless there be uniformity of method and discipline throughout the whole body. * * The police of the country is at present entirely confined to each district under the Collector and there is no general supervision whatever, and no regular communication from one district to another or to any central office on the several points of police business which so imperatively require combination of thought and action. * * The Collector-Magistrate should be considered the chief administrative officer of Government in each province. In this capacity he would direct the distribution of the police and call for their services when required, but he would have nothing to do with the interior economy of the force; that would be regulated by the Commissioner of Police under the orders of Government." And in a subsequent minute,

Lord Harris writes : " But this grand principle, should never be lost sight of, that for the prevention of crime, and for the detection and punishment of criminals, as well as for the other important service of a police force, the affording information to Government, there must be unity of action and identity of system throughout the body to which these duties are deputed. Otherwise there can be no real efficiency, no correct movement, no economy of, or correct direction in, exertion."

On the other hand the Honorable W. Elliot, one of the ablest and most distinguished members of the Madras Council, wrote : " The distinguishing feature of the plan proposed by the Hon'ble the President is the organization of a system of police as a separate department complete in itself. I concur in the principle laid down by Lord Harris. * * In Bombay the Superintendent of Police is subordinate to the Magistrate, but there they have no Chief Commissioner, and the creation of such an office with full control over the whole police administration entirely alters the whole position and subordination of the District Superintendent. * * I do not see how these local officers can be placed under the District Magistrate in any respect when they are directly subordinate to a Chief Commissioner, and if they have separate village establishments there is no reason why they should be."

Mr. Morehead, another very able member of the Madras Council, writes : " To render the new plan effective the separation must be complete ; the Magistrate being distinct from the police, the village police should be under the Commissioner of Police. * * The Magistrate should have no control over the police. At first the Magistrate will necessarily be the person most conversant with the police, but in a very short time the Commissioner and his subordinates will know more in respect to these matters than the most active Magistrate."

The majority of Madras Civilians were, however, opposed to a complete separation, and it was ultimately decided that the new constabulary in each district should be subject to the general control of the Magistrate-Collector, but that the Chief Commissioner of Police and his subordinates the Deputy Inspector-General and District Superintendent should be responsible for the direction, discipline, and internal economy of the force. In May 1858 Mr. Robinson, a Madras Civilian of high standing, was appointed Chief Commissioner and directed to submit a scheme for the re-organization of the Madras Police on the general principles above indicated. Early in December the Chief Commissioner submitted a sketch of the scheme proposed by him for carrying out the objects in view ; the leading features of that scheme are :—

" 1st.—The police becomes a distinct department under the direct supervision of the Government, its members of all grades being

divested of judicial functions and being under the exclusive control and management of their own officers."

"2nd.—The administrative and judicial functions of the magistracy remain as at present throughout all grades, from the village Munsiff up to the Magistrate, each so far as his legal powers and jurisdiction may extend. The Magistrate of the district will be kept fully and intimately acquainted with the distribution and administration of the police. He will make requisition for their services if the arrangements which he may think are required for the preservation of the peace and prevention of crime have not been anticipated by its own officers; the police will execute all his lawful commands. But he will not interfere with the internal economy and arrangements of the district corps for which its own officers will be individually responsible."

To this scheme the Madras Government accorded general approval, and Mr. Robinson was directed to proceed to Calcutta with a Draft Bill, Act XXIV of 1859, which was submitted to the Legislative Council and passed into law in September 1859.

At the very time those discussions were going on in Madras, which immediately preceded the passing of Act XXIV of 1859, a fierce battle was waging in Bengal upon the very question of police reform between the advocates on one side of what may be called the purely Oriental system, and on the other the supporters of the Western system of administration. The Orientalists, led by Sir F. Halliday, held that all functions, however varied and dissimilar, should be centered in one individual officer at the head of the district who should exercise in his own person all the powers of Government. The Western party, headed by Sir J. P. Grant, held that there should be complete separation of functions and division of labour.

There can be little doubt, we think, as to which side had the best of the argument. The minutes recorded by Mr. Grant (now Sir J. P. Grant), Sir Barnes Peacock, and Mr. Ricketts are so conclusive and so admirably put, that we offer no apology for extracting from them at some length, and we do this the more readily as the tendency among Civilians of late years, and more especially under Sir George Campbell's administration, has been to forget altogether the grand fundamental principles upon which Mr. Grant's arguments are based, and to revert to the effete system which has been long since condemned not only by the unanimous voice of all civilised countries of the West, but by our bitter experience in the East. Mr. Grant, after quoting largely from the report of the Police Commission of 1838, thus writes:—"There is no longer any question as to the necessity of separating the functions of revenue and those of police and criminal justice so far as native functionaries are concerned. This one decisive effect

the torture report has had upon the European mind universally. * * * I do not know if the full extent of the decision that the united functions cannot be entrusted to native hands has been seen. Not only must revenue and police powers be disjoined in the case of the peons and the tehsildars; the principle of the reform applies as strongly to the Deputy Collectors and Deputy Magistrates who are mostly natives. Yet the functions of these last named classes are in quality the same as those of Collector and Magistrate. A Deputy Magistrate of experience has always the full powers of a Magistrate. However, this difficulty may be treated, I see not how incongruity of system and invidious and offensive class distinctions are avoidable if the union in European hands is persisted in. * * * Every officer of Indian experience will understand why the fact of the two classes of native officers being under two European heads causes in the one class a wholesome fear of the other. A European officer is always the last person to hear of the mal-practices of his own native subordinates. The people will complain to any one else, but it is hard to induce them to complain to a chief of the conduct of those under that chief's orders. A European will hear plenty of evil of the conduct of native officers over whom he has no control; but he will hear little against those who serve him or serve under him; and what little he does hear will probably be in the shape of charges which in the manner and form alleged are false. * * The system whereby various functions each of which is separate in other well-administered countries, are sometimes united in India, is represented in its most amiable view when it is called Patriarchal. It is suitable and convenient as a temporary expedient in a new acquisition; and it is a necessary expedient in a poor and ill-peopled province of great geographical extent. It is a very silent system and goes on with little trouble to rulers so long as the remembrance of the ancient misrule lasts, and so long as few Europeans, or others who have been accustomed to a regular Government fall under its operation. But it has its long undiscovered abuses and its sudden explosions; witness the Madras Torture Commission. Without, however, questioning the system, where it is appropriate, I ask if such a country, as I have described Bengal to be, is a fit country for a Patriarchal experiment? For this system two parties are required, the sage and paternal ruler of a district, and the dutiful family of subjects; not to speak of the first requisite I may safely deny that Bengal affords the last."

—Again Mr. Grant says, "I do not think the principle of uniting fiscal and police functions, in Bengal at least, is sound in principle. Those specialities, which in other parts of India, it is by many maintained, justify the seemingly unpropitious union of the powers of a publican with those of a Magistrate and Judge do not, in any

degree, exist in Bengal. A Collector in Bengal neither has nor ought to have influence by reason of his office in his district. If the revenue is paid he must take it, if it is not paid he must advertise for sale. As the Judge in summary suits between zemindars and ryots, any attempt to acquire influence would be criminal. On the other hand I do not think that these general and obvious objections to the union of fiscal, police and judicial powers in the same hands which are admitted to have right and which rule the practice of all civilised countries of the West are inapplicable in any part of India. The smoothness and silence with which public affairs go on, where all power is centred in the hands of one train of officials, cannot be regarded as good for the people, however agreeable they may be for the administration."

Mr. Ricketts says, "Though Mr. Grant is opposed to re-uniting Magistrates and Collectors, his opposition is confined to giving Collectors police powers. He would make the present Magistrates District Police officers with assistants under them also merely police officers, restricted to the duties of looking after the subordinate officers, of discovering crime and of prosecuting it in heinous cases to conviction. When I find two men like S. G. Clerk and Mr. J. P. Grant both of great ability, but whose idiosyncrasy is so essentially different, and whose experience has been in such different fields, agreeing in a subject of this kind and having on their side the Government of Madras and Bombay, and the systems of all the best governed countries in the West, there appears to me little occasion for further enquiry. It is almost impossible that they should be mistaken." And, after quoting in support of his views the opinions of Messrs. Lushington and Schalch, two of the ablest Bengal Magistrates, Mr. Ricketts goes on to say, "It appears to me that all the objections in theory and all the difficulties in practice are met by joining Magistrate with Collector and by the appointment of a Superintendent of Police in each district, relieving the Magistrate of police duties. * * The plan proposed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (Mr. Halliday), besides being very expensive, appears to me objectionable on many other grounds. An efficient police is impossible with many small jurisdictions. The tracing of offenders and the procuring of evidence are immeasurably increased by such a system. As represented by Mr. Lushington, we should have a separate system in every sub-division. The act punished in one sub-division would be

appointed, there must be no divided authority; the whole police force, stipendiary and village, must be placed under the Superintendent's orders; whatever reason there may be for another course

if Madras or Bombay, there certainly is none in Bengal. The Magistrate will become a minor criminal Judge with the superintendence of all the subordinate criminal courts of the district. The Superintendent will be exclusively under the Commissioner of Police." He thus concludes:—"Since these proposals were submitted to the Bengal Government the despatch of the Honorable Court, dated 24th September 1856, has directed that such a plan as I proposed for separating the police from the Magistrate should be carried into effect generally all over the country. The Court have, after full deliberation, recorded their opinion that the management of the police of each district should be taken out of the hands of the Magistrate and be committed to a European officer with no other duties, and responsible to a general Superintendent of Police for the whole presidency. There is, therefore, no occasion for me to say anything in defence of the reform I recommended. I earnestly hope that the court will adhere steadfastly to their resolve." But Mr. Ricketts's earnest hope was not destined to be realised. The only province in which, in accordance with the above quoted despatch, the separation of the police from the Magistrate had been completely carried out was in Sindh, and there the success of the system was declared to be perfect. "The success in Scinde," Mr. Ricketts writes, "has been perfect. The success in Bombay has been considerable, although there the separation is still incomplete. All confidently anticipate great improvement from the change at Madras."

The Government of Madras, we have already seen, had advocated and carried out a modified system which, while creating a separate department of police under a Chief Commissioner and District Superintendent, gave the District Magistrate a general superintendence and control over the police of his district.

A very similar system had been carried out in Bombay except that in that Presidency the Magistrates in all police matters were placed directly under the authority of the Commissioner of Police. In the Panjáb and North-Western Provinces nothing had been done.

Matters were in this state when, in August 1860, a Police Commission was appointed by the Government of India, which was directed to make a comprehensive enquiry into the existing constitution of the police establishments throughout India with the view of ascertaining in what way they might be most effectually improved. The Commission was composed of the following members: Mr. Court for the North-Western Provinces, Colonel Phayre for Pegu, Mr. Wauchop for Bengal, Mr. Robinson for Madras, Mr. Temple for the Panjáb, and Colonel Bruce for Oudh; all men of noted ability and ripe experience, especially in matters connected with police.

The general objects to be kept in view by the Commission were stated in an able memorandum drawn up by order of the Government of India and furnished to the Police Commission. It would occupy too much space to quote that memorandum here, but we may briefly state that its leading features were reproduced in the propositions which were subsequently unanimously adopted by the Police Commission.

In September 1860 the Police Commissioners submitted their report together with a Draft Act in which were embodied the unanimous conclusions of the Commission regarding the principles, system, and method on which a good police for all India should be organized. The conclusions at which the Commission had arrived were stated in a series of propositions of which the most important are the following :—

1. "That a civil protective force can be constituted in any part of India, starting from a civil basis, after the model of the British and Irish constabulary forces, and under the control of carefully selected European officers which may be adopted, by special attention to its departmental constitution, and physical composition, to the performance of every duty which can be required of such a body, in regard to the prevention of crime, the suppression of *local* outrage, the maintenance of order, and prevention of aggression on frontiers where armed invasion is not to be anticipated; for the guarding and watching of jails, treasuries, and stores, and performing any escort duties connected with them and public property of every description."

2. "That the Executive Government should at once constitute a civil force of such organization as shall make it thoroughly useful for every civil police purpose. The force should be so trained and constituted that it may be thoroughly relied upon for the performance of all duties of a preventive and detective police, and for the protection of property, and maintenance of local peace and order, with reference to the locality in which it is to be employed. That the formation of such a force is the key to economy and military efficiency."

3. "That the first step towards effecting this object is to combine into one body, under a responsible superintending authority, and under an uniform organization and undivided control and responsibility, all the numerous bodies now engaged, more or less independently, on various duties connected with the proper civil police administration of the country, and the ordinary guard and watching of property of every kind, in whatever department. For the proper performance of all the important services of a police force, there must be unity of action and identity of system throughout the body to which these duties are entrusted. Economy in regard to numbers and

finance can only thus be secured, while all the minor duties of guarding public property can be best and most economically performed by watchmen deputed from an organised and disciplined force. That, therefore, notwithstanding any difficulties which may arise in changing existing usages, simplifying complicated systems, and arranging intricate details in the transfer of patronage and power from many departments to one, yet the paramount object of instituting one efficient system of police should be *persistently carried out.*"

4. "That under the above view all separate establishments maintained for the watch and ward of jails (exclusive of the establishment of warders), of general and tehsil treasuries and escorts; and all river and road police, of whatever denomination, now in the pay of Government, should be gradually relieved and absorbed into the constabulary, as the organization proceeds."

5. "That—whether the constitution of the village police and the connection now existing between the landholder or the village community and the village watchmen should be preserved or no—the duty of supervising the village police in all their public duties should devolve on the District Superintendent, with the view of securing a regular and punctual performance of those duties, and of making the village watch an useful supplement to the organized constabulary."

6. "That the police thus constituted should form a separate department in each local Government or local administration, and, under the immediate authority and control of its chief. And, having an independent departmental organization and subordination of its own, be made an efficient instrument at the disposal of the district officer."

7. "That the police under each local Government or administration should constitute one force; and be under an officer to be styled Inspector-General of Police; in whom should be vested, in communication with the Government, the organization of the establishment, and the responsibility of maintaining it in a state of efficiency, by proper attention to its discipline and interior economy, and to the general management of the force through its own officers."

8. "That the Inspector-General of Police should be, with a view to affording information to Government, the centre of an intimate and constant communication with the district officers in relation to all matters respecting the organization of the police and the internal preservation of the peace, and the state of crime in the country."

9. "That, in consequence of the appointment of an Inspector-General of Police to be the chief inspecting and controlling power over the police, the executive function of officers above the grade

of District-Magistrate, namely, of Commissioners of Divisions as Superintendents of Police, where such officers exist, should cease, as provided for in certain Provinces by Act XXIV of 1859. But it is not intended to limit in any way their general control over the criminal administration, or their authority over the Magistrates."

10. "The Inspector-General of Police should not hold any extraneous executive charge, nor be hampered with details, in order that he may be able to devote his whole time to personal supervision of police in different districts."

11. "That in every district, under the jurisdiction of one Magistrate, there should be at least one European officer of police, to be styled District Superintendent of Police, who should be departmentally subordinate to the Inspector-General of Police, in every matter relating to interior economy and good management of the force, and efficient performance of every police duty; but bound also to obey the orders of the District Officer in all matters relating to the prevention and detection of crime, the preservation of the peace, and other executive police duties, and responsible to him likewise for the efficiency with which the force performs its duty."

12. "That on him should devolve the command and control of all the establishments of police of every denomination within such district. He should be held answerable for all matters relating to the interior economy of the force, for the physical qualifications, and general conduct of the men, for the maintenance of discipline, and the punctual execution of all orders of the magistracy. On him, subject to the general administration and judicial control of the District Officer, with whom he should be in constant and intimate communication, should likewise devolve the maintenance of the public peace, and the prevention and detection of crime."

13. "That in such District Superintendent the promotion, suspension, and dismissal of police officials should be vested, subject to the powers, from time to time entrusted to him by the Inspector-General."

14. "That, as a rule, there should be a complete severance of executive police from judicial authorities; that the official who collects and traces out the links of evidence—in other words, virtually prosecutes the offender—should never be the same as the officer, whether of high or inferior grade, who is to sit in judgment on the case; even with a view to committal for trial before a higher tribunal. As the detection and prosecution of criminals properly devolve on the police, no police officer should be permitted to have any judicial function."

15. "That the same true principle, that the Judge and detective officer should not be one and the same, applies to officials,

“having by law judicial functions, and should, as far as possible, be carefully observed in practice. But with the constitution of the official agency now existing in India, an exception must be made in favour of the *District Officer*. The Magistrates have long been, in the eye of the law, executive officers, having a general supervising authority in matters of police—originally without extensive judicial powers. In some parts of India this original function of the Magistrate has not been widely departed from; in other parts extensive judicial powers have been superadded to their original and proper function. This circumstance has imported difficulties in regard to maintaining the leading principle enunciated above; for it is impracticable to relieve the Magistrates of their judicial duties; and, on the other hand, it is at present inexpedient to deprive the police and public of the valuable aid and supervision of the *District Officer* in the general management of the police matters.”

16. “That, therefore, it is necessary that the *District Officer* shall be recognised as the principal controlling officer in the police administration of his district. And that the civil constabulary, under its own officers, shall be responsible to him, and under his orders, for the executive police administration.”

17. “That this departure from principle will be less objectionable to practice, when the executive police, though bound to obey the Magistrate’s orders—*quoad* the criminal administration—is kept departmentally distinct and subordinate to its own officers and constitutes a special agency having no judicial function. As the organization becomes perfected, and the force effective for the performance of its detective duties, any necessity for the Magistrate to take personal action in any case judicially before him, ought to cease.”

18. “That the *District Officer* is the lowest grade in whom police and judicial functions should unite; and that, consequently, all officers below that grade, who are now invested with police functions, should not hereafter exercise those functions, beyond issuing such orders as may be necessary in their judicial capacity in specific cases before them.”

These propositions thrown into legal form in the shape of “A Bill for the better regulation of the Police,” were laid before the Legislative Council in September 1860, and in March 1861 became law under the title of Act V of 1861.

On one point Act V was clearly a compromise. The main principle of the Bill was complete severance of the executive police from judicial and revenue functions, but in the words of the Police Commission “it was impracticable to relieve the Magistrates of their judicial duties, and on the other hand it was inexpedient at present to deprive the police and the public of the

valuable aid and supervision of the District Officer in the general management of police matters. This we consider to be the one weak point in an otherwise admirable Act, and that it was felt to be a weak point is abundantly clear from the remarks made while the Bill was before the Council by Sir Barnes Peacock, Mr. Sconce, and the mover of the Bill, Sir B. Frere. The last named officer in reply to Mr. Sconce said "he would remind his honorable friend that it was one thing to lay down a principle and another to act upon it at once and entirely, when it was opposed to the existing system, to all existing forms of procedure, and to *prejudices of long standing*. Under such circumstances it was often necessary to come to a compromise. * * It took a very long time to carry out the principle of a police force separate from and independent of the judicial magistracy in the metropolis, and now though more than 30 years had passed since the principle had been recognised by all the great authorities and by public opinion in England, it had not yet been fully extended throughout the United Kingdom. But every year some progress had been made, and he hoped that at no distant period the principle would be acted on throughout India as completely as his honorable friend could desire. The honorable member had called this Bill a half-and-half measure. He (Sir B. Frere) could assure his honorable friend that nobody was more inclined that it should be made a whole measure than he (Sir B. Frere) was, and he should be very glad if the honorable member for Bengal would only induce the Executive Government to give it their support, so as to effect a still more complete severance of the police and judicial functions than this Bill contemplated."

In Act V of 1861 it was laid down that "the administration of the police throughout a general police district shall be vested in an officer to be styled the Inspector-General of Police, and in such Deputy Inspectors-General and Assistant Inspectors-General, as to the local Government shall seem fit. The administration of the police throughout the local jurisdiction of the Magistrate of the district shall, under the general control and direction of such Magistrate, be vested in a District Superintendent, and such Assistant District Superintendents as the local Government shall consider necessary. The Inspector-General and other officers above mentioned shall from time to time be appointed by the local Government, and may be removed by the same authority."

In accordance with the provisions of this Act, Mr. Carnac, a Bengal Civilian of great experience and long recognised as a Magistrate having especial aptitude for the management of police was appointed the first Inspector-General in Bengal. The new constabulary commenced work in the Patna and Bhagalpur Divisions,

Major Pughe being appointed Deputy Inspector-General of the Division, and a Superintendent of Police to each district.

Under the provisions of Section 7, Act V, District Superintendents were empowered to dismiss, suspend, reduce or fine inspectors, sub-inspectors, head constables, and constables, subject to an appeal in the case of the higher officers to the Deputy Inspector-General of the Division, or to the Inspector-General of Police. The appointment of constables and the nomination of head constables, sub-inspectors, and inspectors, subject to the approval of the Deputy Inspector-General and Inspector-General, was also vested in the District Superintendents.

By the end of 1863 the new system had been extended to all the districts in Bengal and Assam—a Deputy-Inspector General being appointed to each Commissioner's division, and a District Superintendent with Assistants to each district. From the first it was apparent that the new Act was extremely distasteful to the great majority of Civilians, and the vague general control with which the Magistrate was invested, tended, we think, more than anything else to produce want of harmony, jealousy, and, in some districts, bitter dissension. In some districts Magistrates held aloof from exercising any control whatever; they gave neither assistance nor advice to the raw and inexperienced officers (who in too many instances were put in charge of districts), but viewed their proceedings with sullen dissatisfaction, and contented themselves with offering a passive resistance to every new measure. Other Magistrates again exercised a most offensive control; they interfered in every petty detail; they treated with scorn all police orders issued by the Inspector-General, and lost no opportunity of openly asserting their thorough contempt for the new *regime*. Few, indeed, were the districts in which the Magistrate had the good sense and moderation not to interfere where interference was unnecessary, but to counsel and guide rather than control. But in spite of active opposition and passive resistance, steady progress was made. Commissioners and Deputy Inspectors-General exerted themselves to bring about harmonious working. Magistrates and District Superintendents by degrees came to understand each other. The bitter feelings at first evoked by the introduction into each district of a quasi-independent authority gradually softened down, and in 1864, when the Inspector-General of Police called for the opinions of Commissioners and Magistrates upon the workings of the new system, there was only one Magistrate, and he the youngest and most inexperienced in Bengal, who expressed an opinion decidedly hostile to the system; while the great majority testified strongly to the great improvement which under the new system had been effected. Up to this time the control and general direction of the police force was in the hands of the

Inspector-General and his Deputies. The Inspector-General, as head of the police, was the referee of Government in all matters affecting the administration of police affairs, and to him the Government looked for full information upon all matters appertaining to criminal administration, and upon him rested the main responsibility for the efficient organization, discipline, and training of the force, for the prevention and detection of crime, and for the due discharge of all general executive duties. Under the Bengal Resolution of September 1862, Commissioners and Magistrates were also to some extent held responsible for the criminal administration of their divisions and districts, but it was fully recognised and understood, that their responsibility extended only so far that they were bound to bring to the notice of the higher police authorities any faults in police matters which came to their notice; while the active executive control and responsibility for efficient administration rested with the superior officers of the police department. Under the Inspector-General were the Deputy Inspectors-General who, to use a familiar metaphor, were the hands and eyes of the Inspector-General. It was their duty to be constantly on the move from district to district, watching, correcting, and guiding the District Superintendents under them. They received special reports in all serious cases of crime, and watched narrowly the conduct and action of the police in every case. They received weekly diaries from the District Superintendents in which every thing relating to the progress, well-being, and management of the force found entry, and they in turn, by means of similar diaries, kept the Inspector-General minutely and accurately informed of the conduct of police affairs. They collected and analysed crime statistics and submitted monthly reports on the state of crime to the Inspector-General. They closely watched the fluctuations of crime, and it was an especial part of their duty to watch and trace all cases of organized or ramified crime. All these duties from their position and experience they were peculiarly well fitted to do, and were doing with marked success when the Bengal Government suddenly discovered that it was no part of a Deputy Inspector-General's duty to look after the criminal administration of his police, and these officers were directed to confine their attention solely to the inspection and discipline of the force. Commissioners and Magistrates were informed that they were to be held responsible for the efficiency of the police, that all crime returns, &c., were to be sent to them, and, in fact, that it was quite a mistake to suppose it at all essential that the Inspector-General or his Deputies should know anything about the state of crime, or concern themselves about aught beyond the cut of a constable's jumper or the cleanliness of his belt and musket.

Matters were in this state when Lieutenant-Colonel Bruce was called upon by the Government of India to scrutinise and report upon the police establishments of Lower Bengal. Colonel Bruce, after a most elaborate and searching enquiry, submitted his report in June 1864. The principle changes advocated by Colonel Bruce were, a general reduction in the strength of the force which had in the first instance been considerably over-estimated, a reduction in the number of Assistant Superintendents—increased to the pay and improvement in the general position of inspectors, sub-inspectors and head constables—an increase in the number of grades of District Superintendents with higher scale of emolument, a reduction in the number of Deputy Inspectors-General from six to five with an increase of pay to those that remained. With regard to this last class of officers Colonel Bruce wrote: "Upon the whole, I think, the duties of a Deputy Inspector-General have been briefly and clearly explained by the Punjab Government in letter, No. 773, dated 25th November 1862, to the Government of India, Home Department. At paras. 18 to 27 it will be found that His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor and myself agreed that they could not advantageously be restricted to a narrower sphere of duty and responsibility; and we agreed in thinking that the duties of a Deputy Inspector-General could be divided into two great parts. First and most important, the supervision of crime; and secondly, and really secondary, the maintenance of discipline. As regards crime, one main object of the separation of the police from the Judicial department is that the Police department shall not be dependent on the instrumentality of the Magistrate for the detection and prevention of crime.

"The Deputy Inspector-General becomes, therefore, a school-master of his District Superintendents to instruct, advise, and guide them. He takes care that every district in his division works *con amore* with others and not independently. He is kept perfectly informed of the state of crime in each district. He watches closely the working of each District Superintendent, and is ready at once to remedy any omissions from ignorance, and punish any faults from carelessness. He is in the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor the back-bone of the system. His central position and large jurisdiction enables him particularly to study professional crime. He traces it from one district to another and prevents its concealment. All this he does without in the least harassing his District Superintendents. In fact the suppression of crime is his primary duty, and the maintenance of discipline and interior economy is perfectly compatible with it." While Colonel Bruce's report was still under the consideration of Government, strong efforts were made by more than one Commissioner and others high in authority to get rid altogether of the

Deputy Inspectors-General who were described as fire-brands, whose chief delight it was to pick holes and bring to the notice of Government the delinquencies of Magistrates. Colonel Bruce's general scheme met with the full concurrence and approval of Government, but no notice was taken of his suggestions to place the Deputy Inspectors-General in their proper position with regard to administrative power and responsibility for the prevention and detection of crime. On the contrary, Deputy Inspectors-General were again solemnly warned that they were on no account to interfere in any way with crime, but to restrict their attention solely to the dress and discipline of the force. District Superintendents were sternly reminded that they were entirely and completely subordinate to the Magistrate, and that they were bound implicitly to obey every order of the Magistrate, whether the order was right or wrong, and Commissioners and Magistrates were told that their authority was supreme in all police matters, that they could issue whatever orders they liked and that they were responsible for the criminal administration of their districts. In accordance with these principles the administration of the police in Bengal was carried on by the Inspector-General and his Deputies, the Inspector-General confining "his attention chiefly to the general control, and the Deputy Inspector-General to the inspection and discipline of the force."

Year by year some improvement was effected and some advance made. As Magistrates and District Superintendents came to know and understand each other, all friction ceased, and at the end of 1867 there was scarcely a district in which the relations between the District Superintendent and the Magistrate were not pronounced to be perfectly satisfactory. The Deputy Inspectors-General, in spite of their very restricted powers, rendered most useful assistance. By their incessant inspections, they kept up the discipline and organization of the force; they stimulated the activity of the District Superintendents; they often smoothed down differences between Magistrate and District Superintendent; by personal local enquiry they learned much of the state of the police and of the general working of the force in each district, and by their communications to the Inspector-General they kept the head of the Police department *en rapport* with all that it was important he should know, and which, indeed, he had no other means of knowing. They were frequently employed in organizing and leading police expeditions on the frontiers, and the value of their services was again and again warmly acknowledged by Government. It was with no little surprise and mortification, therefore, that the Inspector-General and other police officers learnt towards the end of 1869 that the Government of Bengal had, in a recent despatch to the Government of India, made proposals for the virtual aboli-

tion of the police as a separate department, and for the vesting of the powers of the Inspector-General and his Deputies in the hands of Commissioners of divisions. In this despatch, which had been studiously kept secret from the Inspector-General of Police, it was stated that "there can be little doubt that in dealing with ordinary crime the Bengal Police system has not come up to the expectations of its framers. There is a general "consensus" of opinion as to its practical failure in this respect, and the Lieutenant-Governor believes that this is in a great measure due to the want of local direction in this particular point. The Deputy Inspectors-General having had no magisterial and judicial training have naturally devoted themselves rather to the enforcement of discipline and internal organization than to the cultivation of detective ability and the acquisition of intimate local knowledge." A more unfair and ungenerous imputation it would be scarcely possible to imagine. Year after year the Government of Bengal had reiterated their instructions that the Inspector-General and his Deputies were to confine their attention solely to the inspection and discipline of the police force. Time after time Commissioners and Magistrates had been told that they were responsible for the criminal administration of their districts—that District Superintendents were merely Assistants in their hands, bound implicitly to carry out their orders and instructions in every respect. After thus suppressing all individuality in the District Superintendent and strictly prohibiting the Inspector-General and his Deputies from taking any part in the direction of the criminal administration, the Government of Bengal in June 1869 had the assurance to turn round and declare that the system had not come up to the expectations of its founders, because, forsooth, the Deputy Inspectors-General "had devoted themselves rather to the enforcement of discipline and internal organization than to the cultivation of detective ability and the acquisition of intimate local knowledge."

The despatch of 1869, while thus throwing the blame of failure on a body of officers who had year after year been declared by Government to have carried out their duties with remarkable energy, zeal, and efficiency, went on to state that in Assam more especially was it imperatively necessary to vest the Commissioner with the powers of an Inspector-General—that province being so remote and inaccessible as to be practically beyond the reach and influence of the Inspector-General in Bengal.

Lord Lawrence, then Governor-General, who, it was well-known, had from the first a strong antipathy to the whole police system as established by Act V, eagerly welcomed this letter of the Bengal Government, and it was at once circulated to all other Governments and administrations with a strong expression of the Governor-General's opinion that the proposals of the Bengal

Government might with advantage be universally adopted. All the other Governments and administrations, however, reported strongly against the scheme, and it was finally left to the Bengal Government to carry out their proposals only with reference to Assam which it was known would shortly become a separate administration.

We may here note as a striking instance of the wild, vague, and unfounded charges which from time to time have been brought by prejudiced persons against the police administration, that at the very time the Bengal Government were recommending separation of Assam from the jurisdiction of the Inspector-General of Police, a special enquiry was being held in that province under the orders of Government into certain charges of alleged inefficiency which had been brought against the police by the Judicial Commissioner, the result of that inquiry being the complete refutation out of the mouths of the civil officers themselves, of every charge that had been made, and the triumphant vindication of the police authorities.

In 1870 the financial crisis of Mr. (now Sir John) Strachey occurred, and the first department singled out for reduction was the unfortunate police. Lord Mayo, acting, we have reason to believe, on the representation of Mr. Strachey, recorded a minute to the effect that the office of Deputy Inspector-General had been universally condemned as useless and directed the immediate abolition of this class of officers throughout India. All the local Government and administrations, however, protested against Lord Mayo's order, and, except in Bengal, they protested successfully. In the Panjáb, North-Western Provinces, and Madras the existing number of Deputy Inspectors-General was retained; in Bengal it was cut down to two. In all other grades also large reductions were made throughout Bengal, to an extent, indeed, which it was officially admitted, must considerably impair the efficient working of the force.

In the spring of 1871 Sir George Campbell assumed the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal and again the police department was singled out for attack and abuse. Before a year had passed, police officers were told in not over-polite language that they had hitherto been in the habit of considering themselves "a separate caste and service," but they were greatly mistaken, and, by way of practically illustrating the folly of such a supposition, two Bengal Civilians were immediately pitchforked into high positions over the heads of a long list of police officers. At the same time District Superintendents were prohibited from corresponding direct with their own officers. Appointments, promotions, fines, rewards, were all practically taken out of their hands and vested in the District Magistrate, subject, in

certain cases, to the approval of the Commissioner, while the latter officers were vested with powers more directly affecting the internal economy of the force than ever Deputy Inspectors-General or the Inspector-General himself had before exercised. The system of police, as now administered in Bengal under Sir George Campbell's orders, presents a striking contrast to the system contemplated by the Police Commission, of 1860 and embodied in Act V.

The Police Commission, recognising the importance of the village police as an adjunct to the regular constabulary, recommended that they should be placed completely under the District Superintendent. The Bengal Government in a recent Act for improving the village police have expressly taken away all power from the District Superintendent and vested the sole authority in the Magistrate.

The Police Commission advised that, the responsibility of maintaining the police in a state of efficiency by proper attention to its discipline, interior economy, and general management should be vested in the Inspector-General and his subordinates. The Bengal Government have divided the responsibility between the Commissioner, the Magistrate, and the police.

The Police Commission recommended that on the appointment of an Inspector-General of Police the executive functions of Commissioners should cease as provided in Act XXIV of 1859. Sir George Campbell has given Commissioners full executive power over the police.

The Police Commission advised that the District Superintendent should be departmentally subject only to the Inspector-General of Police in every matter relating to the interior economy and good management of the force, and efficient performance of every police duty. Sir George Campbell has declared that there is no such thing as a separate police department, and that the District Superintendent is to do nothing without the approval and consent of the Magistrate.

The Police Commission advised, and Act V laid down, that the appointment, promotion, suspension and dismissal of all police officers should be vested in the District Superintendent. Sir George Campbell has ruled that the District Superintendent can appoint and promote only constables, subject to the veto of the Magistrate; but, with regard to the higher grades of officers he can do nothing except recommend, while the Magistrate and the Commissioner have been invested with full powers to appoint, fine, promote, or dismiss any police officer without the slightest reference to the District Superintendent.

The Police Commission insisted strongly upon the fundamental

principle that the thief-catcher should never, if it could possibly be avoided, be the thief-trier. Sir George Campbell has virtually said this is all nonsense, and he has directed Sub-divisional Magistrates to take every possible opportunity of going out and personally investigating the cases which they must afterwards try.

In short, all the most prominent provisions of Act V have been openly and flagrantly set at naught. The District Superintendent has been relegated to the position of a respectable head-clerk in the Magistrate's Office, the Inspector-General and his Deputies have been converted into mere compilers of Commissioner's reports and criminal statistics, and nothing remains but the *caput mortuum* of that department which in 1862 was inaugurated with so much care, and thought, and trouble.

As far back as 1867 the Inspector-General of Police in Bengal had warned the Government of the dangerous tendency of the illegal changes in the police system which had then been recently introduced in Oudh by order of the Chief Commissioner: "I cannot (wrote Colonel Pughe) but think it a dangerous policy now again to introduce radical changes into a law passed after so much deliberation as was given to Act V; more especially without any legislative enactment to sanction such changes." At the same time the Inspector-General of Police, North-Western Provinces, himself a Civilian, wrote: "I strongly deprecate more complete subordination of the police to the Magistrates than already exists. Magistrates are now found to work amicably with District Superintendents; and our only aim should be to foster this feeling." In 1868 the Inspector-General of Police in Bengal again pointed out that "the direction of the interior economy of the police force was gradually drifting away from its legal channel." This was vehemently denied at the time by the Bengal Government, but subsequent events have proved how true were Colonel Pughe's prognostications.

It is true, beyond doubt, that in Bengal the new system of police has not come up to the expectations of its founders, but to those who have had the patience to read this narrative it will have been apparent that the system has in reality never had a trial at all. In place of the Act intended by the Police Commission, an emasculated Act V has been substituted. In withdrawing from Deputy Inspectors-General all administration, power, and control, at the very outset, the back-bone (to use the expressive phrase of the Panjáb Lieutenant-Governor) of the whole system was broken. A little later on we find the general control, vague and undefined at first, which was vested in Magistrates and Commissioners, gradually getting more defined and more extensive every year; while, on the other hand, the legitimate authority and influence of the Inspector-General and his subordinates has been steadily pushed

aside, until in the end the head of the department has been left with no authority at all. The Inspector-General cannot now (except by personal enquiry) know what are the feelings, opinions, ideas, or wants of his District Superintendents, for they are prohibited practically from communicating with him at all. Even the annual reports of the District Superintendents have been suppressed. That close intimacy and daily interchange of thought and opinion between the chief of the police and his subordinates which formed the very essence of the system contemplated by Act V has been extinguished. The police of every district now is guided by the whims or caprices of each Sub-divisional Magistrate. At the present moment, and indeed for several years back, the whole working and the direction of the police has been practically in the hands of Magistrates and Commissioners, while the Inspector-General of Police has had neither the means of fully knowing what these gentlemen were doing, nor the power to exercise over them any control. He has been in the position of a captain of a vessel who had no power to issue orders to his crew.

The very evils which Mr. Ricketts and Mr. Lushington warned the Government against 14 years ago, have come to pass. Every Deputy Magistrate and every young Assistant Magistrate of ~~two~~ years' standing in charge of a sub-division, thinks himself an adept in police work, and endeavours to mould and fashion the police of his sub-division according to his own model. The District Superintendent, who ought to be the real head and guide of the police in his district, has been converted into a cypher and acts merely as a buffer between the Magistrate and his responsibility. The credit of any success that may be achieved must go to the District Magistrate, the discredit of failure must rest with the District Superintendent. Has there ever been failure in any district which has not been attributed to the police "system" or to the District Superintendent? Let the records of the Bengal Office bear witness. On the other hand, to a District Superintendent who has done his work unostentatiously and well, what can be less encouraging than to read, as we have recently read, in a Commissioner's report "in accordance with my instructions and *under the able guidance and advice of the Magistrate*, the District Superintendent has successfully," &c. &c.

The latest development of this increasing tendency to diverge further and further from the principles upon which Act V. was based, is in the proposition which has recently been made by the Inspector-General of Jails (and provisionally sanctioned by Government) to abolish all the present jail guards and substitute in their place another police force under the name of warders subject only to the jail authorities. Among the propositions

unanimously recorded by the Police Commission of 1860, the guarding of jails and treasuries is one of the main duties devolving on the new constabulary, yet the Government of Bengal have lately accorded a general approval to this new scheme. In other words, the Government have resolved practically to go back to the old barkandázi system which 14 years ago, was so loudly and so universally condemned. Well might Sir J. P. Grant exclaim, "Are we never to get out of this round? Can it be right in the Government of this great country to spend its time and its energy, and the time and energy of its officers, always in turning half-a-dozen into six and then in turning six back again into half-a-dozen?"

The excuse put forward for so retrograde a measure is the old one of economy; but we have good reason to believe that Mr. Heeley's calculations as to the cost and requirements of his proposed force are based upon altogether fictitious data, and in the end an efficient warder force will, we are convinced, cost more than the present guards. Meantime the effect upon the police force generally throughout the country is most demoralising. The men ask when these reductions will cease. This year, they say, barkandázes have taken our places at the jail, next year the treasury guard will be abolished and chaprásís substituted in their place. What then is to become of us?

Is it marvellous that a system so heterogencous in its elements or so incongruous, should have failed? Starting with a compromise, it was a system that, to be carried out at all, required the strong and unswerving support of Government; but has Government ever given any support? Has it not, on the contrary, done every thing to undermine the fabric? There can be no doubt that except to a small minority of able men the whole system was from the first obnoxious. It was a system, as Sir B. Frere pointed out, "incompatible with the traditions of the Civil Service and opposed to prejudices of long standing." The Civilian had been taught from his youth upwards that the District Magistrate was a Czar in his own dominions—was it unnatural that he should dislike the presence in his district of an officer who, though nominally subject to him, had, in his own right, extensive powers and privileges, and exercised a quasi-independent authority? It was a very natural feeling and but the inevitable result of any system which concentrates the management of several departments in the hands of one man. He must rule in every thing or rule in none. But surely the day has gone by for any one to maintain that it is sound policy to make one man Chief Revenue Officer, Chief Policeman, Chief Magistrate, Chief Educationist, Chief Engineer and Head Jailor in his own district. It was a system unavoidable on our first accession to power in India. It is a system dear to old Civilian traditions and beloved especially by the old Panjáb officers—that

rough and ready system of doing Policeman and Magistrate and Judge combined under the *pīpal* tree before breakfast—which Sir George Campbell still looks back to with lingering affection, but it is a system which has been long condemned by all civilised nations of the West, and it must in the end fail in the East in spite of all attempts to bolster it up.

What, then, it may be asked, is the system we would advocate? We answer, go back and give a fair trial to the system as laid down in Act V. As it at present exists the whole system is a huge anomaly. The nominal responsibility for the efficiency of the force rests with the District Magistrate; the real responsibility is on the shoulders of the District Superintendent who at the same time can exercise no free action but is bound in the minutest details to obey the wishes of the Magistrate, while on the other hand the District Magistrate is perfectly independent of and irresponsible to the head of the police department. If it be not advisable on political grounds to separate altogether the police from the magistracy, by all means let the Magistrate remain political head of his district; but surely this can easily be done without making him responsible for the working and management of the police. Give him full power to interfere and ~~assume~~ full authority in cases of emergency. Give him the power of vetoing any improper order or injudicious appointment made by the District Superintendent, reporting at the same time his reasons for so doing to the Inspector-General, and let him be kept fully acquainted with all the information gained by the police, and receive from the force all the assistance he requires; but to require him to examine every promotion-roll and to sanction every good-conduct stripe awarded to a constable, is placing the District Magistrate in a false position, and lowering the dignity of his office, while it converts the District Superintendent into a booking clerk.

In all matters connected with the every-day working of the police, and the whole interior economy and direction of the district force, the District Superintendent should and must have absolute authority. The real responsibility rests upon his shoulders, and he cannot work freely, honestly, and independently, shackled and fettered as he is now.

Deputy Inspectors-General should be restored to their proper position of guides and teachers—the suppression and detection of organized and ramified crime—the more special duties of a detective department—the collection of accurate crime-statistics should be their special duties. When this is done, there will no longer be the slightest necessity for holding Magistrate and Commissioner responsible in any way for crime, any more than they would be held responsible for the bridges or bungalows built

within their districts or divisions by the officers of the Department of Public Works. Until this is done there can, in the words of Lord Harris, be "no real efficiency, no correct movement, no economy of, or correct direction in, exertion." In Madras which has, we believe, the best police in India, the provisions of Act V have been carried out more closely than in any other province; but that is a benighted presidency having no Commissioners, and their Collectors being in charge of districts twice or three times the size of an ordinary Bengal district, have no time to trouble themselves about the details of police matters.

Unless something be done, and done quickly, the police must deteriorate; already signs of decay are becoming visible. Officers and men do not work with the zeal and enthusiasm they showed a few years ago. The whole *morale* and discipline of the force is lower. From top to bottom throughout all ranks there is a feeling of profound depression and dissatisfaction. The higher officers who, on the faith of promises of high pay and rapid promotion, quitted other departments to enter the police, find themselves stranded—their hopes blighted and their prospects of advancement growing smaller and smaller every year. It is well-known that Sir George Campbell has proposed, on the retirement of the present Inspector-General to appoint a Civilian to the head of the department, on the flimsy pretext that a judicial training is necessary to make an efficient Inspector-General of Police.* The lower grades of officers look forward anxiously to the publications of the weekly *Gazettes*, and breathe a sigh of relief when they find that a young Civilian of two or three years standing has not been gazetted over their heads.

As for the rank and file of the police they have from the first formation of the force until now ever been in a most unsatisfactory and unsettled state. Scarcely a single year has passed without some change being made in the numbers, or positions, or pay, or general conditions of the force. Not only have the actual changes been numerous, and of a character seriously affecting the stability of the force, but the prospective changes ever springing up and looming in the distance have had a most pernicious effect. One month a District Magistrate writes to his Commissioner and proposes that all inspectors should be swept away as useless; next month another Magistrate proposes to abolish all the court estab-

* Nowhere in Europe is it considered necessary that the head of the police should be an officer of judicial experience. In Madras, in the Panjab, in the North-Western Provinces, in Oudh, in the Central Provinces, and in Burmah the present Inspectors-General of Police are all military officers, who have had no judicial training strictly so-called; but the truth is, the whole life of a police officer is one incessant judicial training of the severest and most practical kind.

fishments; a third suggests that District Superintendents should be sent to the right about and Deputy Magistrates put in their place; while a fourth points out that the real police of the country are the village chaukidars, and that the whole force constituted under Act V, from the Inspector-General down to constable, Rām Bakkas, is a huge imposition and should be destroyed, root and branch. All these views and opinions are known in an incredibly short time and canvassed throughout the whole force—the result is, among the unscrupulous, a determination to make hay while the sun is shining; among the better disposed, listlessness, distrust, suspicion, and general discontent.

In the days of its first organization the police department was looked upon as an honorable service, and European officers of standing and good abilities were eager to enter it. In Madras it was recognised as a *corps d'élite* and the very best officers that could be found in the native regiments were selected to serve in its ranks; and in Madras, and perhaps in the Panjāb, there is still some of the old *esprit* left. But in Bengal, in the North-Western Provinces and in Oudh, no officer will now-a-days accept a police appointment except as a *dernier ressort*. We have now before us a letter written in 1869 by one of the very best officers in the ~~Oudh~~ Police who resigned in consequence of the illegal changes introduced, in which he says, "the police is no longer a department in which any gentleman can serve who has the smallest self-respect," and that this is a very prevalent feeling throughout Bengal as well as the North-Western Provinces, we have too good reason to know.

With native officers it is much the same. No respectable native will now enter the police department on a salary of say sixty rupees a month if he can get thirty rupees as clerk in the Magistrate or Collector's Office or any comparatively insignificant appointment in the Education, Telegraph or Public Works Department.

In the whole range of departments there is none in which so much influence for good or for evil can be exercised as in the police. In no other department are there the same opportunities of knowing and of studying native character; of promoting free and unrestrained intercourse between European and native; and of exercising a healthy and elevating influence on the masses: and nothing can be more fatal to the efficiency of such a department than the absence of all incentive to exertion or a feeling among its officers that they dare not work fearlessly, honestly, and independently. It is some satisfaction to us to think that the able administrator now at the head of the Bengal Government was one of the members of the famous Committee who framed Act V, and we are not without hope that in the discussions which are to come, he will bring prominently to notice the persistent manner in

which, in Bengal at least, all the most important provisions of Act V have been ignored and set aside.

If it be eventually determined, however, that Act V in its integrity should not be resuscitated, we would suggest the following as an alternative measure :—

Abolish the present District Superintendents and vest all their powers and responsibilities in the hands of the District Magistrate.

Place Commissioners of divisions in all police matters under the Inspector-General of Police, giving them the powers of Deputy Inspectors-General.

Let each Commissioner have under him an Assistant Deputy Inspector-General whose duties will be :—

1st.—Frequent and thorough inspection,—a duty which Commissioners with their multifarious work cannot at present properly attend to.

2nd.—To trace and follow up organized and ramified crime within their divisions.

3rd.—To collect and analyse crime-statistics.

4th.—To keep the Inspector-General of Police fully informed, through the Commissioner, of every thing relating to the well-being of the force, crime, discipline, accounts, state of buildings, &c. &c., in fact every thing connected with the internal economy and criminal administration of the force.

Some such scheme as we have above sketched would, we believe, go far to remedy the evils which now exist and which must rapidly increase under the very altered conditions on which Act V is at present worked.

Few Magistrates of the present day have any conception of what the police was twelve years ago, and still fewer have studied the causes, or are cognizant of the course of events which culminated in Act V ; and our labour will not have been in vain if, by this retrospect, we succeed in calling attention to the great principles upon which Act V was based, and in bringing to light some of the hidden causes which have powerfully operated against the free and efficient working of that Act.

ART. VII.—TIBET.

- 1.—*Alphabetum Tibetanum Missionum Apostolicarum commo editum, studio et labore Fr. Augustini Antonii Georgii, Eremitæ Augustiniani.* Romæ : 1762.
- 2.—Captain Samuel Turner :—*Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama, in Tibet.* 2nd Edition, London : 1806.
- 3.—Huc :—*Souvenirs d'un Voyage dans la Tartarie, le Thibet, et la Chine.* Paris : 1850.
- 4.—Köppen :—*Die Religion des Buddha.* Vol. II., *Das Lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche.* Berlin : 1859.
- 5.—*Buddhism in Tibet* ; By Emile Schlagintweit, LL.D. Leipzig and London : 1863.
- 6.—Cooper :—*Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce in Pigtail and Petticoats.* London : 1871.
- 7.—*La Mission du Thibet, de 1855 à 1870.* Par C. H. Desgodins. Verdun et Paris : 1872.
- 8.—*Report on a visit to Sikkim and the Thibetan Frontier in 1873.* By J. Ware Edgar, Esq., C.S.I. Calcutta : 1874. (Not yet published.)

AS I shall have occasion frequently to refer to the above books I commence by a short notice of them. Father Georgi's ponderous volume, the first named, derives most of its value and interest from information supplied to him by the Capuchin Missionaries, especially Father Horazio de la Penna, who resided 30 years in Tibet.¹ Georgi himself was a stay-at-home traveller, and his principal object in writing the book was to prove that the Buddhism of Tibet was an heretical offshoot from Christianity and an invention of the arch-heretic Manes. Many pages are devoted to the refutation of the calumnies of "the spiteful Calvinist," Beausobre, against St. Augustine and other Fathers. The book bristles with Coptic, Syriac, Hebrew and Sanskrit, and is a striking monument of the misplaced erudition of the age. But while its conclusions with regard to religious history are

¹ Della Penna died in 1747, at Patan in Nepal, where a monument was raised to him with a double inscription in Latin and Nepalese, the latter by his Moonshree, Balgovind. Georgi, p. 435. It would be interesting to know if the Gurkhas have spared this tomb. They expelled the Nepalese Christians, who settled at Bettiah.

worthless, and supported by a worthless philology,* the information it gives is valuable and apparently very sound. There is an itinerary from the mouth of the Hooghly³ to Lhasa through Nepal and Tingri-Maidan,⁴ remarkably interesting in its notices of places not since visited by European travellers. There is an elaborate account of the construction of the temples in Lhasa, and of the prayer-wheels and other implements used in worship. And there is a Chronological Table (*Canon Regum et supremorum Lhamarum*) which gives a full history of Tibet up to the date of 1752, derived from local annals, and still our most valuable source for Tibetan history.

Turner's and Huc's books are well known, and are both important in their way. Turner was the only Englishman who ever visited U-Tsang or Tibet proper, and Huc, with his companion Gabet, the only Europeans who have been at Lhasa during the present century.⁵ Turner's style is somewhat heavy, but he had

² Georgi writes *Pendit* for *pan-dita* and suggests that it is properly *bendit* from *bend* or *bed* the sacred books! He makes out two Buddhas or Xacas, one a thousand years before Christ, in accordance with Chinese chronology, and the other contemporary with Christ, whose miraculous history was transferred by the Manichæans to Xaca; hence the Conception, Incarnation, Temptation, &c., of Buddha. Xaca is of course Shishak, Sesostris, and several other people. That the Bods of Tibet derive their name from Buddha will not seem strange to General Cunningham, who is, or was, inclined to derive Bhutan from *Baud-dhashthana*, or the place of the Buddhists, *Ladak*, p. 19. Dr. Leitner heard of a sculpture on the plain of Kiang in middle Tibet representing Buddha riding upon an ass, and preceded and followed by persons carrying palm-branches.

³ pp. 425-460 He notes the freedom of worship under the English in Calcutta (which is styled, 1762, the seat of the Governor-General and Supreme Senate); the former splendour of the schools of the Augustinian Brothers in Bandel; *Mozulabat* with a million and a half of inhabitants where the silk-worms spin every month; Monghyr, said to have been founded by Alexander the Great! Patna with a million

inhabitants, and factories of the French, English, and Dutch for saltpetre and opium; the remains of a vast and ancient labyrinthine city, Scimanguda, in the Nepal Terai; at the temple of Bhavani, in Khetmandu, he says 'custos et ministra est ad quantum usque ac decimum ætatis annum virgo vestalis Bud-distis nata parentibus.' He describes the disease called Olla which rages in the Terai from April till November—a malarious fever with ague. The terrors of the Himalaya passage are feelingly described, the *khuds* (immensa barathra), the hanging bridges, the projecting rocks cut with holes for the heel.

⁴ A well-known plain or valley, in Ngari, described as irrigated, fertile, and pleasant. It is noted by the Chinese as the principal haunt of the unicorn, which appears to be the Cheru, *Anti'ope Hodgsoni*, one of the most graceful and elegant of its kind, but possessing two horns like any other ruminant, though somewhat more on the plane of the face, and set more in the front, than in other antelopes. See *J. A. S. B.* i. 52-66. Ritter, *Erskunde, Asien*, iii. 98-100.

⁵ Both statements would have to be modified, if Moorcroft really spent 12 years in Lhasa. Horace Wilson, in his introduction to Moorcroft's *Travels*, which he edited, entertains

an eye for the picturesque, and he did his best to learn, though his notions of geography are vague. Huc had no notion of geography at all, and we lose much precious information through his total want of interest in the subject. He took no notes of distances, of the direction of streams, and other matters which might furnish a geographer with data. On the other hand, his style is neat and attractive and occasionally dramatic, he took a keen and somewhat humorous interest in human nature, and his descriptions of manners, religious observances and the like, are very striking and wherever they have been tested, very accurate. He has furnished us also with some important sketches of historical events.

Köppen's volume, the next on our list, is marked by a research seldom found out of Germany, in union with a clear light style seldom found in Germany. If a book of half its value had been produced in England it would have been long ago translated into German. Like Carl Ritter's *Erdkunde* and Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, it is a vast storehouse of facts indispensable to the student, but unlike them it is singularly attractive to the general reader. If I may hint a fault, it is the tendency to paint Lamaism in colours somewhat too sombre. Köppen is apparently a free-thinker with a strong dislike to priests and their ways, and he hates the Lamas because they remind him of the Catholic Church, as much as some of the Catholic Missionaries hate them because they parody the Church.

no doubt of Moorcroft's death in 1825, but Huc learned at Lhasa that he arrived there in 1826, remained till 1838 in the disguise of a Kashmiri Mussulman, and was finally assassinated by robbers in Ngari on his way back to Ladak, when his papers fell into the hands of the Tibetan authorities who found out who he really was. The story was told to Huc by the Regent, the Kashmirian "Governor," and others, and Huc had never heard of Moorcroft's existence before he went to Lhasa. We do not know whether his companion, Trebeck, on whose authority Moorcroft's death in 1825 was reported, was capable of plotting with him to deceive the public, but we do know that Moorcroft conceived himself seriously injured by the Indian Government. See Huc, ii, 348-353.

* Which the Bengal Government persists in spelling Llama, the name

of a well-known animal in South America. When the *Times* made the same mistake, it was delightfully punished by Lord Strangford in the *Pall Mall Gazette* :—"Why the Grand Lama shall be spelt with two l's it is impossible to say. He might as well be called the Grand Alpaca. Can it be the associations of shawl-wool as an article of Himalayan produce? What on earth has a large, hornless, and much salivating Peruvian animal, the liquid or *mouille* initial of whose native name the Spaniards have transmitted to us according to the orthographical expedients of their alphabet, to do with the central object of Buddhists' outward adoration—that which 'shows the way' as the true name denotes? In these matters we do not notice small errors, seeking to be tolerant about orthographical variations in particular, but this is not a small error."

Of Schlagintweit's pretentious book I need say very little. It is a compilation with little novelty and very little merit; though the atlas, with its huge lithographs of Tibetan divinities, charms, &c., is very interesting. Mr. Cooper set out from Hankow with the intention of visiting Lhasa. He was not allowed to proceed, and at Bathang, he changed his route for Assam, but got into difficulties with some of the wild chiefs on the Lantsang river, and was forced to return. Mr. Cooper's arrangements seem not to have been judicious, but his book gives some useful information about Eastern Tibet and the border land between Tibet and China.

Father Desgodins, one of the missionaries settled in Eastern Tibet, has kept his brother, the author of the seventh book on our list, well-informed on the affairs of the mission, and the book, which has not hitherto, so far as I am aware, been noticed by the scientific English Press, is particularly important for the light it throws on the topography of the countries adjacent to the sphere of his labours, and the very much vexed questions as to the courses of the great Tibetan rivers. The pictures of manners are perhaps too darkly coloured. The moral laws of Buddhism and the actual practices of the Buddhists are set over against each other, item by item, to show how ill they agree. But a travelled Tibetan might apply the process to London or Paris with as much point, and as little edification. The chapter on the commerce of Tibet, and the letter of Monseigneur Chauveau on the mines, which appeared first, some years ago, in the *Indo-European Correspondence* are especially valuable.

Lastly I have named Mr. Edgar's report, which contains some interesting notes of frontier geography and trade, an account of the relations between China and Tibet, and some striking pictures of Lamaistic observances, especially the funeral ceremonies of a nun, the Sikkim Raja's sister, which Mr. Edgar was fortunate enough to witness at Pemionchi.*

* Mr. Edgar believes that she was buried at Chumbi, the Sikkim Raja's Tibetan residence, but according to most travellers, interment is just the one mode of disposing of the dead not practised in Tibet, where corpses are burnt, thrown into rivers, given to the sacred dogs, or simply "buried in the air," i. e., left on an exposed plateau for the vultures. A lay figure of the nun, dressed in her own clothes, and "wearing a gilt mitre and a long white veil, was placed on a kind of throne to the right of the great altar

in the principal chapel. Before the figure was a table, on which were different kinds of food; on another table at the side were various things which had belonged to the woman when alive; while on a third, 108 little brass lamps were arranged in rows. Long lines of monks, in dark red robes, and with very tall caps of bright crimson on their heads, sat on carpets placed in the middle of the chapel and chanted litanies throughout each day of my stay at Toomloong." After this the figure was taken to the monastery

I write the name Tibet because that is the nearest representative of the Arabic *Tbt*, from which probably we derive the word. As to its origin nothing certain is known; it seems to be a Mongol form, and may be derived from the Chinese *Thupho*, as Ritter suggests, but in that case we lose the connexion of the last syllable with *Bod*, the name which the Tibetans give themselves, and which is retained in the Bhutias of the Eastern and Western Himalayas, and the country of Bhután (*Bhutánta* or the end of the Bods). The Tibetans call their own country *Bodyul* or Bodeland. Central Tibet is generally known to the Chinese as Wei-Tsang, or the provinces of U and Thsang.⁸

The limits of Tibet may be differently regarded as we look ethnologically to the prevalence of the Bod people, or politically to the extent of country actually subjected to the rule of Lhasa. In the first place we should have to extend it westward to Astor near the great bend of the Indus, and eastward as far as the

at Pemionchi where the monks again "chanted the litanies for the departure of the soul of the dead nun which had accompanied her clothes from Chambi. On the third day the relations, friends, and dependents of the deceased brought or sent gifts of food, clothing, or money, which were all laid before the figure. . . . Towards evening the tea-cup of the nun was freshly filled with tea and her murwa jug with murwa, and all the monks solemnly drank tea with her." Then her friends took a last farewell, kissing the hem of her robe. "At about nine o'clock the chanting ceased, and the Lama, again standing in front of his chair, made a long speech to the soul of the nun, in which he told her that all that could be done to make her journey to another world easy had been done, and that now she would have to go forth alone and unassisted to appear before the King and Judge of the dead :—" You will have to leave your robes, your mitre, and your veil," said he "and you will be shown in the mirror of the just king, clad in the black garment of your sins, or in the shining garment of your good deeds. Your gold and silver, your rank, your dependents, your good name in this world will not help you now, when your good deeds will be weighed in

the scale of the King, against your evil deeds." When the Lama had finished his address, some of the monks took down the lay-figure and undressed it; while others formed a procession and conducted the soul of the nun into the darkness outside the monastery, with a discordant noise of conch-shells, thigh-bone trumpets, Tibetan flutes, gongs,* cymbals, tambourines, drums, and other most disagreeable but nameless implements;" pp. 62-63. Compare the account in Georgi, pp. 441-3, of funeral ceremonies witnessed by the Capuchins at Kuti on the Nepal frontier. In this case, there were unceasing litanies for three days, and then the lay-figure (*pusio*), made of the ashes of the body, which had been burnt, and mixed with flour and butter, was carried about in procession, and finally suspended over the sacred fire, burning with juniper.

⁸ Or dBuss and gTsang, pronounced at Lhasa as in the text. General Cunningham compares dBuss with the Dabasse of Ptolemy. Probably the dumb letters were formerly sounded, as they are still in the further parts of Tibet. See Cunningham's *Ladak*, 389, and for the Melam or language of the tribes in the South-East of Tibet, Desgodins, p. 257.

snowy range of Pei-que-ling in the province of Szechuen.⁹ (103° E. longitude). North-east the language at least spreads (or did spread, for there seems to be a constant pressure of Mongol tribes in that direction) to the Blue Lake and Si-ning-fu; while west of this the northern boundary is very unsettled, as between the Kuen-lun mountains, which form the boundary in most of our maps, and the settled provinces on the Brahmaputra there intervene vast plains known only from the Chinese geographers, and haunted by Túrki nomads, at once shepherds and bandits. To the south, tribes of Tibetan blood have penetrated the valleys of the Himalaya in many points, and seem formerly to have prevailed along its whole southern slope till driven backwards by the tide of Hindu and Ahom conquest.¹⁰

The most important geographical *nodus* upon the map of Asia is the region north-west of the great bend of the Indus, between Chitral and the Sir-i-kul lake, from which the Hindu Koh runs westward, the great Karakorum¹¹ afterwards called Kuen-lun, almost due east, the Himalaya south-east by east, and the Pamir uplands, "the roof of the world," northwards. Three of these great lines of elevation demarcate ethnological provinces, for the Tibetans are all contained within the acute angle between the Himalaya and the Karakorum, the Aryan tribes, Hindu and Iranian, within the obtuse angle of the Himalaya and the Hindu Koh; while the northern semicircle from the Hindu Koh to the Karakorum cuts off the Turanians proper, Túrks, Mongols, Kirghises, Uzbegs, Turkomans, or by whatever other name they may be called. Of course there are instances where one race surges over, so to speak, into the province of the others, and in fact the Turanian frontier is a modern line; there is still a large Aryan population north of it, in Bokhara and

⁹ Cooper, p. 187. At Ta-tsian-lu the Tibetans form the majority of the inhabitants; but the political frontier is on the Jeddo range west of Ta-tsian-lu, p. 223. West of this Lihang and Bathang form a sort of non-regulation province, managed by Tibetan officers, under the administration of Szechuen, and the eastern boundary of Tibet proper is still further west.

¹⁰ Cunningham traces Tibetan names in the neighbourhood of Simla, especially *ti* as the termination of a river-name p. 390. Mr. S. Peal has noticed similar terminations in Assam, which have survived the conquest of the Siamese Ahoms, whose name for water is *nam*, as in Me-nam. But per-

haps a Sanskrit scholar would object to inferences of Tibetan rule in the Indian plains being derived from such names as Gum-ti, Rap-ti, and Tap-ti.

¹¹ Humboldt (*Asie Centrale* i, 126) conceives the true oriental prolongation of the Hindu-koh to be not the Himalaya, but the Kuen-lun or Kulkun chain, running south of the plateau of Khoten, and north of those of Ladak and Tibet. Between the Kuen-lun and the Hindu-koh, however, the chain is called Karakorum. This is the backbone of Asia, and the Himalaya, though it does contain the greatest heights in the world, is a very secondary ridge—not even a watershed.

Khokand, and even in Yarkand and Kashgar, but in every case oppressed and subdued by Turanian rule.¹² South of the Hindu-Koh and the Himalaya there are no Turanians, except the Hazaras and Eimaks, transplanted by a conqueror into Khorasan, and the Brahuīs, who seem to have ethnological affinities with the Indian Dekhan. The Tibetan frontier too, to the north, has been crossed by Mongolian and Turkish tribes, who are pressing on southward; they already occupy the whole of the plateau lying between the Kuen-luen and that other parallel range, which bears on the maps the name of Chor-Kachi, and there are signs that they are still on the move. But as a rule, the Tibetan frontier, except on the China side, is determined by mountain ranges and not by watersheds. For in this region, as is well known, the hydrographical system is quite distinct from the mountain system, and the old simple conception that the highest ranges demarcate distinct river-systems has to be altogether abandoned. Along the whole Himalayan frontier of India the watershed is far behind the line of greatest elevation, and the range is not, as was thought by observers in the plains, one continuous *sierra*, but rather a series of short parallel ranges running south from the watershed and each having its highest peak near its southern termination.¹³ Thus the wall of snow resolves itself into a line of towers, between which are a series of rivers running south from the plateau, such as the Gogra, the Gandaki, the Arun, the Menas and the Subanseri, while the Satlaj, the Indus and the Brahmaputra, after a meridional course of greater or less length in the plateau, follow the same law, breaking through the apparent chain far to the west or the east. If the centre of radiating mountain chains is to be found south of the Pamir, the centre of radiating watersheds is a point far to the south-east of this, where Kailasa overlooks the two sacred lakes. Here are what the Tibetans call the

¹² There is evidence of a large basis of Tajik blood among the agricultural population of Khiva, Sogdiana, and even Ferghana." Yule's *Essay* prefaced to 2nd ed. of Wood's *Orus*, p. xxiii; see Shaw's *Visits to High Tartary, &c.*, pp. 23-24. He says that the last relic of the Trans-Pamir Aryans has been transplanted by the Atalik Ghazee 'after the manner of Eastern conquerors.' *Sarts*, equivalent to Saudagars, means settled people, as distinguished from nomads, p. 26. Colonies of Tajiks are found in several cities of Russia, as Kasan, Tobolsk, and Tomsk, and retain many Persian words in their

language. Berghaus, *Atlas der Ethnographie*, p. 9.

¹³ The view in the text was first clearly set forth with regard to Ladak, by Captain Henry Strachey, *J. R. Geogr. S.* xliii. 23; the ridges may be joined by spurs, and the passes into Tibet cross these, not the main mountain crest. Hooker noticed the same feature in Sikkim; the Himalaya there consists of meridional ridges, separated by waters flowing southward; "they are not a continuous snowy chain, but the snowed spurs of far higher unsnowed land behind." *J. R. Geogr. S.* xx. 52.

four *Khabaps*, or vomitories, from which flow four great rivers: from the Sēnge (or lion) Khabap, the Indus; from the Langcheu (elephant,) the Satlaj; from the Mapcha (peacock) the Karnali, or trans-Himalayan affluent of the Gogra, and from the Tachhog (the sacred horse of Buddha) the Yaro-tsampo, or Brahmaputra. No European eye has seen the head waters of the latter river, which flows from gigantic glaciers south of the Marya La Pass, fixed by Major Montgomerie's Pandit at 15,500 feet high.¹⁴

The Brahmaputra flows through the two central provinces of Tibet, and a part of Gnari or the western province. Gnari Khorsum, on the west slope from the watershed of Maryam La containing the two sacred lakes and the head-waters of the Indus and the Satlaj, is an isolated dependency of little historical interest, and need not detain us; still less Ladak, lying to the far west, and long under independent, now under foreign, rule. But the course of the Great River requires a short notice.

The great road from Gar or Gertope to Lhasa follows the river through eight degrees of longitude, in the course of which the height of the plain sinks from 15,500 to 11,300 feet.¹⁵ Further east no measurements have been made. Many writers talk as if the country divided by the Brahmaputra were one uniform plateau of great height. This is by no means the case. It is covered with elevations and depressions, the latter forming numerous lakes prolific of salt and borax, or with the best pastures on their banks. Hills are always in sight, generally in low ranges parallel to the river, but often rising into snowy peaks. From the source of the Brahmaputra a long range bearing numerous glaciers stretches 150 miles to the east. North of the river there is, generally speaking, an open country intersected by immense tributary rivers, and without cultivation of any kind, except a coarse grass which nourishes herds of sheep, goats, and yaks. The Ralung monastery (14,000 feet) under the 87th meridian, *i. e.*, north of Colgong), is the point where trees begin to appear, and

¹⁴ Strachey, *u. s.*, p. 35; Cunningham, *Ladak*, 82; Montgomerie, *Report of a Route Survey from Nepal to Lhasa*, *J. R. Geogr. S.*, xxxviii, 146. The Balasa or Gangdisri mountain (22,000 feet high) is called by the Mongols Oneonta, which seems a corruption of Anavatapta, the Ravana-Hrad lake, 'signifiant qui n'est pas éclairé ou échauffé (par les rayons du soleil)'; Burnouf in Humboldt's *Asie Centrale*, ii. 419.

¹⁵ Most of this general sketch is taken from the observations of Major

Montgomerie's pandit. He used the prayer-wheel and rosary to take bearings and count his paces; and as the prayer-wheels are free of custom-house examination, several have been made fitted for compasses, &c. Shigartze is 11,800 feet above the sea, Lhasa 11,700; the Yamdok cho is 13,500. The road is for the most part a natural one with easy gradients; piles of stone mark it out on the open stretches. Turner saw the river from Shigartze only, p. 297.

cultivation is henceforward pretty frequent : about Teshu-Lumbo there are fine crops. The monastery with its crowd of temples with gilded spires, overlooked by the fort of Shigartze, is surrounded by hills, but not snowy ones. The river here flows in a wide expanse of bed, studded with islands ; but eastward it again forms a compact stream, crossed in several places by iron suspension-bridges. Gyantze city is on the road, but south of the river. It is a great trading mart, famous especially for the sale of ponies, and the manufacture of woollen cloths. Further east lies the ring-shaped Yamdok-cho, or Palte lake, long a puzzle to geographers, some of whom simply disbelieved in it, while others explained it, strangely enough, as a water-ring in the river.¹⁶ In fact it does not communicate with the river, which is separated from it by the lofty range of Khamba-la, dividing the provinces of U and Tsang. It does not seem wonderful that a lake should enclose an island, even though the island be a large one ; but what is really remarkable is that the island consists of rounded hills, 3,000 feet high, and grassy to the summit, i. e., to between 17,000 and 18,000 feet above the sea. These hills afford excellent grazing ground, but are more celebrated as the seat of a number of monasteries, all acknowledging the rule of a mighty Mother, re-born in a series of incarnations, whom the Buddhists hold to be a female Bodhisattva, while the Nepalese venerate her as the very Bhavânt in human form. She never visits Lhasa but in pomp and procession, carried on a litter beneath the royal umbrella, and supported by a senior Lama. Thuribles swing and smoke before her, and the priesthood follow in order on foot. On her arrival, the population, lay and clerical, hasten to prostrate their foreheads in the dust before her feet.

Lhasa¹⁷ is surrounded, like Teshu-lumbo, with hills, none

¹⁶ Gutzlaff in *J. R. Geogr. S.*, xx. 198, from Chinese sources, apparently. "The stream is compressed between two high mountains on the north and south and is thus compelled to wind its way in a circle, having its outlet to the west,"—a singularly meaningless description. For L. Palte, see Georgi, 451. Montgomerie, *u.s.*, 166 ; Köppen, 364, says the lady is called rdor Jo Phagmo, the Diamond-Bow ; the rebirths are identified by a mole on the nape of the neck in the shape of a swine's snout.

¹⁷ Lhasa, see Huc. ii. 244, *sqq.* Montgomerie, 167 ; it is Lha-Ssa, the place of the Gods (Lha). Huc speaks of '*arbres séculaires*, and un

magnifique entourage de verdure.' There are no ramparts. The houses are whitened sepulchres, full of all rottenness within ; true image, says the missionary, of all false religions which cover their essential mendacity with outward seeming truth. In one quarter, the houses are entirely built with cows' and sheeps' horns ! The Pandit tells a singular story of the new year's festivities in Lhasa : a priest, who must be of the Debaug monastery, buys at auction the right of presiding for 23 days in the Raja's Court ; he is a sort of Lord of misrule ; he taxes every house and punishes the slightest transgression by heavy fines, so that, though most of the artisans are driven

of them snowy; the plain around the city is described by 'all travellers as rich in vegetation and fruit-trees, and the city is half-concealed by aged cedars and cypresses. The great white houses with their numerous towers, the temples with their gilded roofs, and the three-peaked hill of Potala, the Dalai Lama's¹⁸ Vatican, make the first sight of Lhasa very striking. Its river, the Khichu Tsanpo, is the last affluent of the Yaro Tsanpo that can be named with certainty; for beyond the point of confluence, the course of the stream is lost to geography, but we may assume that while still in Tibet, it descends to a much lower level, as wine and rice are spoken of as the products of the easternmost provinces.¹⁹

North of the Yaro Tsanpo, and away from its banks, there are no towns or fields, a wild wide country, tenanted by nomads who live entirely on the produce of their herds, which they pasture round the lakes. Nearest to Lhasa is the Calmuck settlement of Dam, planted in the 17th century for the protection of the Dalai Lama; but still further north and along the whole northern rim of the cultivated country, dwell the Horpas and Sokpas, wild Turkish robber-tribes, who two hundred years ago conquered Ladak, and extended their incursions to the Nepal frontier,²⁰ and are still the terror of the peaceful Tibetans.

South again of the great river, the plateau-land is but sparsely cultivated, and all the routes, from Tengri Maidan, from Kherong, from Phari, describe the same style of country, brown uplands with bare red rocks without visible vegetation, producing a striking

out of the city for the time, he makes ten times the purchase money. After this a man is chosen as scape goat, and throws dice with the Jalno, the priest who has purchased the judgeship, and if the latter loses it is said to foretell great evil; if the Jalno wins, it is believed that his adversary is allowed by the Gods to bear the sins of the whole people; and he is driven with bootings outside the gates. The picture reminds one by its ghastliness of the scene in the *Ancient Mariner*;

"The game is done, I've won,
I've won!"

Quoth she, and whistles thrice."

¹⁸ Potala; Huc's Buddha La or "mountain of Buddha," though La is a pass, not a mountain. Csoma (*Tibetan Grammar*, 198) identifies it correctly with the Potala of Sindh, near the present Tatta, from which the Sākya family were supposed to have sprung. The Buddhists believed in a true archetypal Potala, a sort of heavenly

Jerusalem, in the western ocean, a mountain with a heavenly palace on its summit, where the Bodhisattvas rested in their journeys from heaven to earth: a third or fourth Potala is situated in the China sea near Ningpo. Köppen, 341.

¹⁹ The province of Kongpo produced rice; and Georgi says Takpo produced wine *sed agreste*. In Bhutan is the Lhokha country, where the parents make incisions into the lips of their children, and colour the incisions red, yellow, blue, &c. Georgi, 423.

²⁰ See Cunningham's *Ladak*, 326-30. He says the Sokpas visited Lhasa. Hamilton, *Description of Hindostan* ii. 587, speaks of them as sacking Khirong in Nepal. It is generally considered that the Soks are Mongols and the Ilors are Turks. No part of Tibet is quite free from brigandage, and the Pandit was attacked on the borders of the Yamdok cho lake.

contrast to the exuberance of the southern slopes of the Himalayas,²¹ yet abounding, like the desolate Karoos of South Africa, in animal life; deer and antelopes, the *khiang* or wild ass, rats and marmots, and innumerable migrating water-birds which cross the Himalayas northward with the approach of spring.²²

I have spoken of the Yaro Tsanpo as the Brahmaputra, and here we abut one of the most interesting questions of modern geography, now fairly set at rest, though no one has traced the southward course of the river into the Diftong of Assam. All the Tibetans identify the Yaro with the Brahmaputra; so did Turner and Rennell, and the English school; while D'Anville and Klaproth, following the Chinese geographers, maintained that it was the Irawaddy. The tide turned against the Irawaddy when Wilcox met with its upper stream, not far east of the head waters of the Namlang, which flows into the upper Brahmaputra, for it appeared so small a river, and so shut in by a towering wall of mountains to the north that it seemed incredible that it could either flow out of Tibet or drain a large extent of country. Colonel Yule in 1857, was inclined to accept this view, though his estimate of the necessary drainage area for the lower Irawaddy caused him some hesitation. Dr. Anderson, our latest authority, seems to have satisfactorily disposed of Wilcox's facts and his theory, by showing that the stream seen by Wilcox was but an insignificant western branch of the Irawaddy, that the eastern river is a far more

²¹ See Turner, 207. "The periodical rains give birth to a little herbage, whose growth stops immediately as they cease; from the extreme dryness of the air, the grass then begins to wither"; 210, "not a vestige of vegetation upon it except a few thistles, a little moss, and some scanty blades of withered grass"; 213, "brown heath and russet coloured rocks." So Hooker; "the loftiest, coldest, windiest, and most barren country in the world . . . the colourings are those of the fiery desert or volcanic island, while the climate is that of the poles" (*Himalayan Journals*, 2nd ed. ii. 138.); and on p. 133 "mountains of a yellowish red colour, rising and falling in long undulation like dunes, and perfectly bare of perpetual snow or glaciers."

²² Turner, p. 217. "The variety and quantity of wild-fowl, game, and beasts of prey, flocks, droves and herds in Tibet, are astonishing." p. 212, "prodigious numbers of saurasses, the

largest species of the crane kind, are seen here at certain seasons of the year." At Chomiamo Hooker says "there was much short grass about the lake, on which large antelopes and deer were feeding. There were also many slate-coloured hares with white rumps; with marmots and tailless rats. The abundance of animal life was wonderful;" ii, 164; and p. 179, "the wild ass grazing with its foal on the sloping downs, the hare bounding over the stony soil, the antelope scouring the sandy flats, and the fox stealing along to his burrow . . . the shrill whistle of the marmot breaks the silence of the scene, . . . the kite and the raven wheel through the air . . . long black V-shaped trains of wild geese cleave the air, shooting over the glacier-crowned top of Kinchinjow."—The *Kiang* or wild horse of Tibet is, it is generally thought, a different species from the gor-khar of Kachh. Georgi describes them as *venusti et variis coloribus picti*.

considerable one, and that the amount of water carried down requires a drainage area much larger than any stream rising among the Khamti hills could supply. But it is worthy of notice that neither Dr. Anderson nor any one else has revived the theory that the Irawaddy is the great river of Tibet. That notion may be considered finally shelved by the deductions made by Major Montgomerie from the explorations of his nameless Pandit. The river is, he shows, very deep, and receives six large affluents, down to and including the Lhasa river. It is nowhere fordable beyond 140 miles from its source, and is crossed invariably by ferry-boats, as the iron suspension bridges soon become useless over so vast a span. Turner testifies to its breadth at Teshu-lunpo, and Montgomerie calculates that the discharge below the junction of the Lhasa river is 35,000 cubic feet per second in the dry season. When the river re-appears after a course of 350 miles in the dark, the discharge (at the mouth of the Dihong) is 50,000 cubic feet. It may be assumed then, with the utmost confidence that the Yaro Tsanpo is the Brahmaputra, or rather the Dihong, for the name Brahmaputra is given by the Hindus to the very minor stream which flows west through Sadiya from the Brahmakund hills.

But in that case where is Anderson's Irawaddy, for which he also requires a large area? Turning to the map, we find that the Tibeto-Chinese frontier consists of a number of parallel streams running southward, and divided by mountain ranges, which, so far as we know from description, are extremely steep and rugged, and generally snowy. Between Tatsianlu and the frontier of Tibet proper, we get first the Yarlung, an affluent of the Yang-tse-Kiang, and memorable as the river on whose banks, according to Tibetan tradition, their monarchy first rose, then on the west of Bathang, the Kin-cha-Kiang, or main stream of the Yang-tse-Kiang itself; after this the Lan-tsang-Kiang, the river of Atepze, which Cooper followed downward for some distance; after that, with but a narrow interval, the Lautse-Kiang. All these four rivers rise on the upland plateau north of Lhasa, and they all flow a little east of south. I have omitted intermediate streams, of which there are several, and which have been traced by the French missionaries to their confluence with one or other of the great rivers. Now about the first two, the Yar-lung, and the Kin-cha there can exist no doubt; every portion of their course is known. The other two, the Lau-tsang, and the Lau-tze have been variously ascribed to the Mekong, the Menam, the Salween, and the Irawaddy. The Menam is out of the question; the identity of the Lan-tsang and the Me-kong may be considered established by the researches of the French missionaries on the one side, and of the expedition under M. Garnier on the other. The question re-

remains whether the Lau-tze is the Salween or the Irawaddy. Now the Jesuits' map of Yunan, the result, as Dr. Anderson says, of a careful survey, fixes the source of the Salween at only about 27° 10' north, whereas the Lau-tze must rise not lower than 33° or 34° (Desgodins followed it to 32°); and space is wanted for the Irawaddy. On the whole, therefore, it appears more reasonable to conclude that the Lau-tze is the upper Irawaddy; though as the modern missionaries have no doubt of its being the Salween, and as the Jesuits' map, which gives far too small a northward extension to the Cambodia or Me-kong river, may be equally wrong about the Salween, it is not safe to consider the point as settled.²³

The general character of Eastern, unlike Central Tibet, is that of rapid rivers running in deep gorges, thickly wooded with pines. Bathang is on a little plain of wonderful fertility, and famous for its vegetables, peaches, and melons. Between the gorges we have sometimes inhospitable plateaus like that of Lithang; sometimes steep and difficult mountain ranges, such as those described so vividly by Huc.²⁴

The ancient history of Tibet,²⁵ according to Tibetan annals,

²³ The materials of the above two paragraphs are to be found in the report of Major Montgomery already cited; the works of Messrs. Cooper and Desgodins; Col. Yule's geographical chapter in his *Mission to the Court of Ava*, and his appendix. *On the Sources of the Irawaddy*, pp. 356-60; Anderson's *Report on the Expedition to Yunan*, pp. 178-193; and in *Journal R. Geogr. S.* XL. 286-303.

²⁴ See especially Cooper; "the terrible and gloomy gorge of Ta-tsiang-loo," p. 202; "a heavy fall of snow fendered the road over the Tungolo mountains impassable," p. 224; "huge masses of quartz and granite lay scattered over the sterile surface, and blocks of grey granite, piled one on the top of the other, rose into gigantic pyramids crowned with snow," p. 230. The Tsamba and Taso ranges extend in parallel chains for about 50 miles; and, crossing them the wind actually cut Mr. Cooper's face open, p. 240. "A gigantic range of snowy mountains running almost due north and south . . . forming the right bank of the Lan-tan." 286. Lan-tan "a deep muddy and impetuous stream, 150-yards wide." 297. Huc says the Kin-cha-Kiang "était encaissé entre deux montagnes

dont les flancs escarpés se dressant perpendiculairement sur ses bords, lui faisaient un lit étroit, mais d'une grande profondeur;" ii. 492. Cooper's description of the flora suggests a much lower level than that of Central Tibet; "our path was bordered with wild gooseberry bushes, and wild roses in full flower. Camellias, too, displayed their beautiful red, white, and variegated blossoms in abundance, and the flowers were pleasingly contrasted with the glossy foliage of magnificent hollies;" 222; "fields green with spring crops of bearded wheat and white peas, and invariably planted round with fine walnut-trees;" 226.

²⁵ The authorities for Tibetan history are the chronological canon in Georgi's *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, the brief but suggestive notices in the appendix to Csoma's *Tibetan Grammar*, and two Mongolian works; Stanang Ssetzen's *History of the eastern Mongols and their Ruling Family*, translated by Schmidt (Petersburg, 1829), and the Bôdhimô translated in the notes to the same book. I have freely used the work of Köppen, who appears to have mastered all the extant literature on the subject; for later times some sketches in Huc are useful

begins with a scene in heaven which reminds us of Milton. The three Bodhisattvas or saints, who assume so important a place in the Tibetan hierarchy, Manjusri, Avalokitesvara, and Vajrapâni, meet in council to consider how the land of snow shall be furnished with inhabitants. Manjusri, the personified wisdom or λόγος, unfolds his plan, that one of the sacred triad must transform himself into a monkey, take to wife Khadroma (apparently a female dæmon of the air) and produce offspring. Avalokitesvara, the Lord of Compassion, undertakes the duty, becomes a monkey, Prasrinpo, and produces from Prasrinmo, his female companion, three boys and three girls, from whom the whole population of Tibet is descended.²⁶ This grotesque story, when stripped of its Indo-Buddhist additions of monkeys and saints, merely proves that the Tibetans derived their own origin from the Spirit of the Fell and the Spirit of the Storm, and gives us some insight into their original cult—a worship of the powerful and gigantic elements of the nature which surrounded them.

There has been much speculation about the Bon or Pon religion which is said to have originally prevailed in Tibet, and still lingers in some of the secluded valleys of the East with a priesthood, books, and monasteries of its own.²⁷ The Chinese identify it with their Taoist sect. Very little is really known about the Bons, except that they use in their ritual a cross with crooked arms—the Hindu *svastika*,—and believe in two original principles—male and female; perhaps a reflex of the *Sankhya* system, if there be any foundation for the story that the Bons had for their first king an Indian refugee prince of the family of the Lichchhavis of Vaisâli—that strange aristocracy of which we read so much in the history of Indian Buddhism. The legend runs that the infant was exposed by his parents in consequence of untoward predictions, and was found by an old peasant who brought him up, and when he came of age told

²⁶ See Georgi, p. 25. The apish ancestry must have been a *skit* on the part of the Aryan Hindus; but a quotation in Humboldt (*Asie Centrale* ii. 63) gives the same origin to a blonde race of Central Asia, the U-sun "*qui ont les yeux bleus, la barbe rousse, et qui ressemblent à des singes.*"

²⁷ For the Bon religion, see Cunningham's *Ladak*, 367-9, Schlagentweit, 74-5; Desgodins, 240-3 (the French Missionaries, from whose letters and other accounts this work is made up, saw much of the Peun-bo, some of whose Lamas seemed inclined to Christianity) and especially Yule,

Marco Polo, i. 287-91. It is thought by him to be a remnant of the old pre-Buddhistic worship of the powers of nature, though much modified by Buddhism, and apparently also by Tantrism. The missionaries lay stress on the number of female divinities; though they admit that the original conception of God was a worthy one. Pictures seen by Father Durand represent a monstrous dwarf environed by flames, and diademed with skulls, *treading on the head of Sakya Muni*. Cunningham's speculations lead to a Bon-po origin from India, but they bring us dangerously near to Zadkiel and the late Captain Morrison, R.N.

him the story of his birth. The prince straightway set out in search of adventures befitting his noble origin, and crossed the Himalayas, when the wild tribes in the Yarlung valley, seeing his godlike bearing and that the beasts of the field and the birds of the air did fealty to him,²² recognised him as a god-descended ruler, and bore him on their shoulders to the snowy peak of Sambhu, where he was consecrated as king under the name of Nya Khri Tsanpo, "the enthroned upon the shoulders." Soon he conquered the four provinces and became lord of all Tibet. Here, again, we have to strike off much that is unhistorical. That an Indian prince founded a kingdom on the banks of one of the tributaries of the Yan-tse-Kiang is possible; that the Tibetans of one of the genial eastern valleys adopted a settled mode of life, and chose a ruler before their congeners on the plateau, is probable enough; but the legend of the exposed child is a part of the common stock of nations, and the connection with a particular family, relations of the Sâkyas, is a device found in the history of every Buddhist dynasty to bring it within "founder's kin." Anyhow we may fairly recognize in the Bonpa the influence of Indian, and probably of extra-Buddhist ideas.

The first recognition of Buddhism appears in a legend, constructed according to a well-known pattern, which narrates how, in the time of a later king, the 22nd from the founder of the kingdom, four strange objects fell from heaven upon his palace roof; the figure of two hands in the attitude of prayer, a *charitya*, the Chintâmani stone engraved with the mystic formula, *om mani padme hum*, and a book of Buddhist teaching. These objects were thought little of and pāt by, when misfortunes of all kinds fell on the king and people; the fields bare no crops, a murrain seized the cattle, children were born blind, and men died of hunger. Then came five strangers of noble aspect, reminded the king of the precious treasures he had stowed away as lumber, and vanished. He brought out the objects with pomp and procession, and rendered them due honour, when prosperity again smiled upon the kingdom, and all went well. Similar anticipations occur in Chinese history; and it is incredible that if Buddhism at this time (the fifth descendant of this king—Srongsan Ganpo—was born in 617 A.D. which brings the appearance of the illustrious objects not far from the date of Fa-hian) prevailed in Kashmîr, Samarkand,

²² So Wordsworth's *Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle*, describing a youth of high descent, living in ignorance of his lot:

To his side the fallow deer
Came and rested without fear;
The eagle, lord of land and sea,
Stooped down to pay him fealty;

* And both the undying fish that swim
Through Bowscale-tarn did wait on him."

Morris, in '*The Man Born to be King*,' tells a story similar in some particulars to that in the text.

China, and India, some glimpse of it should not have penetrated to Tibet. Of such a glimpse we have here the story, and its distortions are strictly according to rule.

Srongtsan Ganpo, a clearly historical personage, was at once a conqueror, a religious reformer, and a pioneer of civilization. He removed the seat of his kingdom from the Yarlung river to Lhasa, where he built a palace, called Potala, from the famous city of Sindh, the metropolis of the Sákya race, ancestors both of himself and of the great teacher. He subdued the barbarians who dwelt between Tibet and the Chinese frontier, and harassed the kingdom of the Thang by raids into the heart of China itself; a treaty was concluded, and he married a Chinese princess, and sent the sons of his nobility into China for their education. But it was from India, not China, that he sought for religious instruction. His prime minister, Thumi Sambhota, with sixteen companions, was sent there on a mission, and returning with much lore and many books, framed the Tibetan alphabet on the model of the divine alphabet of India, and immediately applied it to the translation of Buddhistic manuals. His two wives, the Chinese princess of whom I have spoken and a daughter of the Raja of Nepal, were devoted to the Buddhist faith²⁹ and each brought with her her special teraphim in the form of a favourite image of the Buddha. To receive these images and in honour of the queens, the Labrang and Ramoche monasteries at Lhasa were founded. Long did the powers of evil strive against the sacred work; each night they raised the waters of the neighbouring lake in storm, and destroyed the masonry of the previous day, but the compassionate saint (Avalokitesvara) and the protecting images at length put forth their might, and the dangerous waters were carried away northward by a subterranean passage to form the Koko Nór.³⁰ More than even this did the great king achieve; he introduced law and order, punished the wicked,³¹ and put down

²⁹ The Nepalese princess, says the Bödhimör, objected to go to Tibet. "Great king, my father, the snowland is a land of terror and astonishment, a country clothed with darkness. The men are of degraded race; hunger, poverty, and want reign there. If go I must, let me take the images of Buddha, food and clothing." The king replied that Tibet was the cool elevated land of the gods (tengri); "if Buddha Bodhusattva and his holy law are wanting there, yet law and order prevail under a mighty king." The Chinese Princess introduced the silk-worm, which is not now

cultivated in Tibet, as the people object to a process which takes away life. See Ritter, *Erskunde, Asien*, vol. iii. pp. 220-2.

³⁰ See the weird and graphic story in *Huc*, ii. 189-194.

³¹ The punishments introduced by him were on the retaliatory principle; murderers were punished with death, thieves had their hands cut off, liars their tongue, &c., Köppen, 65. Buddhism has never mitigated the criminal law, and even in the history of Asoka we read of caldrons of boiling oil, &c.

the proud, made roads, bridges, canals and fields; brought the grape and the silkworm; in short whatever Tibet is and has is ascribed to him by the traditions of a grateful people. Naturally he was worshipped as an incarnation of the all-merciful Avalokitesvara,²² and his minister as the embodied Manjusri, the Lord of wisdom; while his two wives were regarded as a double incarnation of Siva's consort, in her benevolent and in her ferocious aspect.

It is needless to say that this king, though no doubt the main features of his story are historical, assumes the place of a representative man, and embraces in his single person the history of an epoch. Neither culture nor religion can have bloomed into full flower at once, and probably we read in the history of Srong Tsan Gampo's religions as well as his social reforms the results of long familiarity on the part of the Tibetans with both Indian and Chinese culture. In one respect, the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet differed from its introduction into other countries, which received it earlier. Buddhism, like other religions, grew and developed itself; unlike others, it grew entirely by addition, not by transformation. The simple rules of discipline which sufficed for begging monks, the simple rules of conduct which sufficed for their lay disciples, were never abrogated, and are as much in force to-day as ever they were. But over and above them a formidable body of doctrine was superadded; and the accretions of dogma betray the same law. The first school of dogmatists laid down curt and conceivable propositions, like those in the creeds,—that the Buddha pre-existed in heaven, that he was incarnate to save mankind, that he entered into Nirvāna. Nobody doubted these positions; disputes there were in abundance as to the meaning of terms, such as whether Nirvāna was absolute or only relative, but the terms themselves were accepted by all. Gradually the sphere of dogma enlarged till it embraced things past conception—long streams of former Buddhas; Bodhisattvas or Buddhas designate, who even now concern themselves with the care of mankind; heavenly Buddhas or Buddhas of the world of contemplation, of whom the earthly Buddhas are the pattern and reflex; Bodhisattvas of contemplation regarded as the spiritual sons of the Buddhas, and so forth. Yet another, and a final development took place, which we cannot but regard as a backward step, as an adaptation of Buddhism to the coarse notions of the primitive Asiatic peoples of non-Aryan blood, who wherever we can trace their views seem to

²² In Tibet appear glimpses of a second Buddhist Trinity, consisting of Manjusri, or transcendental wisdom (λόγος), Avalokitesvara, the Lord of compassion (παράκλητος) and Vajradhara, the Lord of the Thunderbolt,

(παντοκράτωρ). These three met in council to create the Tibetan nation. The original well-known Trinity is Buddha, Dharma, Sangha; the teacher, the law, and the Church.

have indulged themselves in the belief of frightful and malignant deities, personifications of the terrible in nature, the whirlwind and the rushing tempest, and the devouring flame. These personifications, occurring in all the Turanian religions, seem to have gathered a definite form in some region of India subjected more or less to Aryan influences, and to have received Aryan designations, such as Rudra, Siva, Kālī and Bhavānī. They were propitiated with bloody offerings and with magical and unmeaning formulas, and the whole system, magic and all, all but the bloody sacrifices, was adopted by Buddhism, when it came to deal with uneducated multitudes, whom philosophical abstractions and subtle metaphysical speculations could not satisfy, and who craved for a more sensational and blood-curdling creed.

Buddhism was from the very first a missionary religion, and the missionaries of course carried with them the system as it had been developed in India up to the time of their departure. To all the northern countries, Northern India, especially Magadha, was the metropolis of the creed, and the regions who adopted Buddhism, continually sending to Magadha for fresh teachers and fresh lore, kept pace with the metropolis in the acquisition of new truth. Ceylon became a second focus of teaching to the eastern countries, and here the development seems to have earlier reached its climax; the Singhalese, the Burmese, the Siamese never got beyond the class of doctrines which characterized the "lesser vehicle," and the scholastic transcendentalism of the "greater vehicle" as well as the wild supernaturalism and magic of the Saivite Tantras, remained alike unknown to them. Tibet, the youngest convert, alone received the whole body of Buddhist doctrine, so to speak, at one blow. The rules of discipline and morals, the simple history of Sākyamuṇi Buddha, came to Tibet together with all the vast superstructure of creeds, abstractions, and Tantric rites, including the Prajñā Pāramitā or doctrine of the essential nothingness of all things, on which, as it never greatly influenced popular belief, I have not in the above sketch taken special notice. Tibetan Buddhism began, in fact, where other nations left off, and carried dogma a step or two further. Out of so vast a body of truth, particular nations naturally laid stress on particular points and developed them their own way. The worship of the Bodhisattvas—especially of selected ones—was one of these points; Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara, already deities among the Chinese, became in Tibet popular and, so to speak, national Gods; the Tantric system was too much akin to the feelings of the descendants of the Spirit of the Storm, the inhabitants of vast plateaux haunted by spectre-like dust-whirlwinds and 'airy tongues that syllable men's names,' the clients of uncultured priests whose stock-in-trade consisted of

exorcisms and wonder-working formulæ, not to be at once adopted into the popular faith, and Buddhist Tibet became, what pre-Buddhist Tibet had in all probability been, the special home of magic and wonders. The famous formula of six syllables, *om mani padme hum*, or "hail to the jewel in the Lotus!" an invocation to Avalokitesvara, the Lotus-born, which, as we have seen, accompanied, in popular belief at least, the very first acquaintance of the Tibetans with Buddhist symbolism, is everywhere,—engraved upon stone, floating in the wind on streamers of cloth, revolving in prayer-wheels, or uttered countless times by countless numbers of the religious,—the distinguishing sign and badge of the Tibetan form of faith." But the most important addition made by Tibet to the body of Buddhist doctrine—the feature which has given the country its historical importance,—is the belief in successive incarnations of the Bodhisattvas, successive transmigrations from one human frame to another. Of course the transmigration of souls, an Indian doctrine based upon ethical grounds, greatly influenced Indian Buddhism from the first, and the great mass of Buddhist legend in all countries is based upon it. In its general form it is always a rise or fall in consequence of works done in a former state. The good man is born again as a prince, a Brahman, a deity; the bad man as a Sudra, a beggar, an evil spirit, a beast, or a reptile. But in Tibet alone, and the countries which received their religion from Tibet, we find the equable and continuous series of human incarnations assumed by those saints who have devoted themselves to the care of mankind in this world. It required centuries to develop this belief in its existing form. The king, Sron-tsan Gampo, was taken as we have seen to be an incarnation of Avalokitesvara, but he had no immediate follower in that function; and it is not till much later that we meet the first unbroken

"The Tibetan scholiasts revel in glorifications and multitudinous interpretations of this formula. The six syllables are the heart of hearts, the root of all knowledge, the ladder to rebirth in higher forms of being, the conquerors of the five evils, the flame that burns up sin, the hammer that breaks up torment, and so on. *Om* the gods, *ma* the Asuras, *ni* the men, *pad*, the animals, *me* the spectre-world of *pretas*, *hum*, the inhabitants of hell. *Om* is the blessing of self-renunciation, *ma* of mercy, *ni* of chastity, &c. The Saivites gave a coarse interpretation to the formula, in which *mani* was the *lingum*, *padmi* the

yoni. Köppen 59-61. The Tibetans, says Köppen, are "*sehr religiös, sehr gläubig, leicht gläubig, abergläubig, wundergläubig*. *Es wird im Schneereiche viel, sehr viel, unsäglich viel gebetet*"; (p. 317) a state of things of which he clearly does not approve. "Truly monstrous is the number of *padmes*, which on great festivals hum and buzz through the air like flies." In some places each worshipper reports to the highest lama how many '*om mani padme hum*'s he has uttered, and the total number uttered by the whole congregation are counted by the billion.

series of incarnations. Of the five kings who followed Sron-tsan Garpo, the monkish historians have given us no particulars. They founded no monasteries and introduced neither books, idols, nor missionaries. They gave the monarchy of Tibet its greatest extension, and Chinese annals tell that they conquered Kashgar and Khoten, and plundered Si-ngan-fu; but these things concern not priests. The true religious successor of Sron-tsan was his sixth follower on the throne, (A.D. 740-786) Thisrong-de-tsan, who at the outset of his reign had to contend against the anti-Buddhist reaction; the nobles had set themselves against the new religion and the foreign priesthood, buried the sacred books, and the images of Sākya Muni, and turned the temple of Labrang into a slaughter-house. When the young king was strong enough to break the yoke, he set himself to redress the evils which irreligion had brought upon the land, and for this purpose he called from India the famous Bodhisattva, Santa Rakshita, and from Udyāna, (Dardistān and the country on the Swat river, west of the Indus) the mighty magician Padma Sambhava,* who helped him to overcome the foes, demoniac and human, under whom the country groaned. Now came a further influx of books and pandits from India and China. The great *Kanjur* compilation in 108 volumes was edited; the monastery of Samye, to this day one of the largest in Tibet, was founded; religious zeal and religious strife prevailed everywhere; and the monkish sects or orders which wear the red mitre mostly date their origin from this period.

All the history tends to show a long-continued contest between the hierarchy and the temporal nobility; the grandson of the pious king, the apostate Lang Dharma, was driven out by a popular rising, headed by the Lamas, and his brother and successor, the pious Ralpachan, who favoured the priesthood more than any other king, was murdered by an aristocratic faction who set Lang Dharma again on the throne. Afresh did persecution burst on the head of the saints; some were slain, some were forced to become hunters or fishers, others sought refuge in distant provinces; books were burnt, images drowned; and Buddhism well-nigh perished from the lands of U and Tsang. At last came vengeance; by Durgā's inspiration an ascetic monk hastened to Lhasa, and murdered the king with an arrow as he stood contemplating the treaty with China engraved on a pyramid in front of the Labrang monastery. "As the gods conquer the Asuras, as Buddha conquers the Evil One,

* Padma Sambhava is the "Urgyen or Gaur Rimbochay" of Mr. Edgar, (p. 39) His sect is called the Urgyen-pa, or Orchianists. The name evidently refers to that of his country Udyāna,

where the Akhund of Swat now resides. Padma Sambhava's figure has in many Sikkim monasteries of the red sect, as Mr. Edgar informs me, the precedence over that of the founder of Buddhism.

so have I conquered thee, O wicked King." But the inspiration was not of much avail; more than a century elapsed before the scattered hierarchy returned to Lhasa; Tibet, torn by internal factions, lost both territory and influence, and became a prey to robber-tribes; till at length the Restoration was welcomed by all classes alike as the only means of bringing back peace and order. This Restoration, in the eleventh century, was commenced as usual by the summons of pandits from Hindustan, of whom Atisha was the chief, and was especially marked by the foundation of monastic establishments, one of which Ssakya, south of Teshu Lumpo, is to this day the principal nest in Tibet of the red-mitred sect, while from its foundation to the rise of the yellow sect under Tsongkapa, its abbot held the highest rank in the Buddhist Church. The red sect was especially given to Saivism and magic, yet the leaders of this reform, Atisha and his pupil Brombakshi or Bromton, the "first eminent native Tibetan doctor," seem to have discouraged such distortions of the religious sentiment; the time was, perhaps, not ripe for a vehement protest against them, such as Tsongkapa's; and the Ssakya monastery, the creature of Brombakshi, became a stronghold of the most ultra views and practices.

Those who expected peace and order to follow the re-establishment of the hierarchy without any central power proved mistaken. Instead of barons alone, bishops and barons contended amongst themselves and with each other; each seized what power he could, and in the struggle the hereditary Prince-Bishop of Ssakya (whose family only adopted celibacy after they had begotten a successor) took a step which ultimately led to the loss of the independence of the country; he applied to the Emperor of China for a patent constituting him Lord of Tibet, therein for the first time recognising the right of interference on the part of the Emperor. About the end of the twelfth century, according to Georgi† who is the only authority for this part of Tibetan

† Bromston is in Lhasa pronounced Dromton! I have not endeavoured in the text to represent faithfully the uncouth forms of Tibetan orthography; and my spelling is in all cases a compromise. The term Bakshi is a Mongol corruption of Bhikshu, a mendicant monk; such were often chosen as advisers by the Mongol kings, who brought the corrupted word back into India with them as the name of a functionary of state. Mr. Edgar is perhaps wrong in supposing the Gelukpa or yellow-mitred schism to have been introduced so early as this.

All that can be said is that Atisha and Bromton were more spiritual than their predecessors and less inclined to magic; and that the latter founded the Kahdampa sect, from the bosom of which rose Tsongkapa, the reformer of after-ages.

† Georgi, p. 316. But he said previously under A.D. 790 (a totally impossible chronology) that one of the Tibetan factions had betaken themselves to the Emperor, who sent an army and reduced Tibet. The Chinese annals would certainly have confirmed this had it been true.

history, the Abbot of Brigung, a colony from Ssakya, made war upon his metropolitan, and being successful reduced all Tibet under his own power; the rival ecclesiastics referred the question of rights to China, which decided that the Ssakya Lama should retain his own monastery and its immediate neighbourhood, and have the title and honours of supreme power in Tibet. The rest of Tibet was divided into three parts, of which the Brigung Lama received one, and two secular chiefs the others. It may be, however, that this story is merely a reflection of the relations of Kublai Khan with Tibet a century later.

Tibetan doctors thronged the court of the Mongol princes, together with Nestorian missionaries, Mahomedan mullahs, and the priests of many other sects, but Jinghis Khan never saw the necessity of adopting any of the recognized religions which contended for his favour, and his relations with Tibet were confined to the encouragement for political purposes of the Ssakya Prince-Bishops. The aged Ssakya Pandita visited the court of his son, Negedei, to cure Godan, the son of the latter, who was afflicted with a grievous sickness ascribed to demoniacal possession. He cured and converted the prince, remained among the Mongols till his death, gave them an alphabet and laid the foundation of their conversion to Buddhism. His nephew, Matidhvāja, or Phagspa, a prodigy of youthful learning, became a favourite of Kublai Khan, and after he had succeeded his uncle as abbot of the Ssakya convent, was formally recognized by Kublai, as spiritual head of the Buddhist Church, and temporal vicegerent of Tibet. The Khan appointed a council of laymen as well as three provincial Governors to assist him in his rule, a constitution which on its political side curiously resembles the existing organization of British rule in India. This, of course, implies a recognition by the Tibetans of the Mongol Khan as their overlord; how it came about we know not; but it seems to have been on the principle of mutual concession. Kublai determined to recognize the spiritual rule of the Ssakya Lamas; they on their part offered him in return, the good will of their political position in Tibet, which made him virtually master of the kingdom.

We see Tibetan history only in glimpses; we left the Ssakya Lama virtually a pope both in Tibet and Mongolia, and Tibet under Mongol rule; when the curtain again rises, at the end of the fourteenth century, we find the Mongol power vanished, and the princes of the Ming dynasty in China protecting Tibet, and conferring titles and honour on the clergy;—but with the Mongols, the popedom has disappeared, and the Ssakya abbots have no longer any sovereign rank.

Köppen remarks that Phagspa was pronounced by the Tibetans very much as Papa.

At this time appeared a very eminent man, who was destined to become the Reformer of the Buddhistic Church, in which he receives a veneration second only to that bestowed upon the Founder. Tsongkapa was born in 1355, or thereabouts in Amdoa,³⁶ a remote part of Tibet near the lake Khokho-Nor, which is now incorporated with China. Miraculous tales are told of his childhood and infancy; he came into the world with a long white beard; he could preach as soon as he was born. At three years old he renounced the world, his hair was cut off, and there grew from it as it lay upon the ground that wondrous tree which Huc saw in the monastery built at Kunbum in after ages to commemorate the event, the tree which bears on every leaf distinct impressions of Tibetan characters. A western Lama with a long nose³⁷ and eyes that glowed with supernatural fire visited Amdoa, and after having taught the young Tsongkapa all that the west had to teach, perished on a mountain summit. Deprived of his preceptor, he resolved to travel westward in search of further truth, but a supernatural voice arrested him on his way, at Lhasa, and he commenced there his career of religious reform. His scholars adopted the yellow head-dress, to distinguish themselves from the prevailing red. The Sakya Lama failed to suppress him and was forced to admit his superiority. He took up his abode on a hill near Lhasa, which soon became the seat of the Galdan monastery; and two other monasteries, Brepung and Sera, were built by his immediate disciples. These three now contain no fewer than 30,000 yellow monks. He died in 1419, and the Feast of Lanterns was instituted to commemorate his assumption into heaven. But his body lies at Galdan, elevated by miraculous power above the ground; it is still fresh and incorruptible, and occasionally speaks to the more devout among his

³⁶ Amdoa seems to have been up to late times a region in which learning singularly flourished; during the thirty years which De La Penna spent in Tibet, the Professors in the Academy, the chief teachers, the incarnations of the great Lamas, and the teachers of the boy Dalai Lama, were all either born in, or sprung from Amdoa, Georgi, p. 424.

³⁷ See Huc, II, 104-119, Köppen, 108-119, for the history of Tsongkapa. Huc has no doubt that the long-nosed stranger of the west was a Christian priest; and that he taught Tsongkapa the Catholic ritual. "La Crosse, la mitre, la dalmatique, la chape ou pluvial, que les grands Lamas portent en voyage, ou lorsqu'ils font quelque

cérémonie hors du temple; l'office à deux chœurs, la psalmodie, les exorcismes, l'encensoir soutenu par cinq chaînes, et pouvant s'ouvrir et se fermer à volonté; les bénédictions données par les Lamas en étendant la main droite sur la tête des fidèles; le chapelet, le célibat ecclésiastique, les retraites spirituelles, le culte des saints, les jeûnes, les processions, les litanies, l'eau bénite: voilà autant de rapports que les Bouddhistes ont avec nous," p. 110. This is at all events a more reasonable notion than that of earlier missionaries, who saw in the resemblances between the Buddhist and Christian Churches an instance of the devil aping God.

worshippers. His writings are yet untranslated, and it is difficult to form a definite notion of his reforms. The yellow cap seems a reminiscence of the yellow robes of Sâkyamuni and his disciples, and symbolizes a return to Buddhism in its simpler original form. In accordance with this he abolished clerical marriage; he forbade necromancy and discouraged magic; and to this day, since the people will have magic, every yellow convent maintains a magician of the red sect. He also introduced the practice of frequent conferences among Lamas of his sect, and these served not only to promote unity, but also to show the strength of his followers, who soon obtained, and have since kept, a distinct numerical superiority.

But the most important result of his reforms, whether consciously instituted by him or not, was the foundation of the two great spiritual successions,—the Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and the Panchen Rimpoches or great Lamas of Teshû Lumpo,*—the two High Priests of the Tibetan religion. We have seen that early in the annals of Tibetan Buddhism, the princes or doctors who distinguished themselves by zeal or learning, were regarded as incarnations of the popular objects of worship, especially the Bodhisattvas, Manjusri and Avalokitesvara. The same happened now, but so frequently as to become regular. Every successor of the grand Lama of Lhasa was regarded as an incarnation of Avalokitesvara; and in course of time it became the object of the priesthood, on each occasion when the throne became vacant, to find the infant who possessed the proper distinguishing marks, and consecrate him as Lama. It was assumed that the benevolent Spirit would never leave the world without reproducing himself in some other human form to continue to preside over the welfare of his clients. The Lama of Teshû Lumpo was an incarnation sometimes of Manjusri, sometimes of Amitâbha, the Buddha of Contemplation belonging especially to the present period; but also, and simultaneously, of the saintly Tsongkapa, who was himself the embodied Manjusri. All the philosophy of Buddhism prepared the mind for this belief, to us so strange; and it is not necessary to assume any deliberate purpose of maintaining power by imposture, though it is clear that, after hereditary succession to spiritual functions was abolished among Tsongkapa's followers, the doctrine of successive incarnations in infants chosen by the Deity was well calculated to give continuity to the institution, and it was at once more logical and more respectful to the Divinity, than the theory of the Sakya convent, which deprived him of choice, and bound him down to the line of human generation.

* Properly, as spelt, bKra shiss *lumpo*, we see in *O'λυμπος* and our *Lhun po*, "the mountain of grace," English word *lump*.

Not these two great seats alone, but many other chairs, in Tibet, Sikkim, and Mongolia, boast a divinity incorporated in a succession of mortal bodies for their occupant; but the two chairs more immediately connected with, and spiritually dependent upon, the great reformer soon assumed the pre-eminence.

We cannot trace the origin of the Teshü Lampo Lamas, but as they were incarnations of Tsongkapa, the series must have commenced soon after his death. Only at certain periods of history do they become prominent. Their spiritual rank is identical with that of the Dalai Lamas, but the Chinese have given the latter a political position which ensures his pre-eminent importance. Both had at first the title of king (Gyalpo) and both held *Sanads*, as we should call them, from the Emperor, but the second Lhasa Lama, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, actually discharged the functions of temporal ruler, appointing a Depa or minister, as his co-adjutor. The third Lhasa Lama was famous for his conversion of the Mongols, who had receded from Buddhism, and adopted ferocious and barbarous ancestral customs. He travelled from Lhasa to the countries beyond the great wall at the invitation of their Khagan. His path was marked by miracles, and his journey blessed with success. From this journey dates the title of *Dalai* (or *Ocean*) Lama, which is a Mongolian, not a Tibetan, word. As if the divinity were interfering to bind more closely the ties which connected Mongolia with the chair of Lhasa, the next incarnation was found in Mongolia, and in the family of the Khagan himself. The young Lama was brought to Lhasa in his fourteenth year, and consecrated by the Pauchen Rimpoche. He died young; and his successor, the fifth of the series, called Navang Lobsang, or "Lord of Speech and of excellent wisdom" succeeded in troublesome times. The Ladâkis attacked Tibet from the west. A native usurper called the Tsanpo ruled all southern Tibet at Shigartse, perhaps with the support of the red faction of Lamas, and Navang Lobsang was forced to seek foreign help. A great army of Calmucks from the shores of the Blue Lake entered Tibet, besieged the usurper in Shigartse, and slew him. Their leader, Guchi (or Guru Sri), received from the Dalai Lama the title of Nomenkhan, (Dharma Raja or Defender of the Faith) and as conqueror, formally made over to him the temporal sovereignty of Tibet. A body of Calmucks were left at Dam, north of the capital, for the protection of the Lama, and their descendants still occupy that neighbourhood. It was this Lama, who built the famous monastery at Potala near Lhasa, where his successors have since resided; and it was he who visited China (A.D. 1651) at the invitation of the first Manchu emperor the predecessor of the great Kang-hi.

The Manchu emperors seem at this time not to have claimed

any right of interference in Tibetan affairs. Frequent embassies passed between the emperor and the Dalai Lama, but they related rather to the affairs of Mongolia than to those of Tibet; and it is easy to conceive that the Dalai Lama's influence over the vast tract of country which had adopted him as spiritual guide rendered him an object of peculiar interest to the Chinese court. But he was left to administer the government of his own country after his own fashion; and at this time in the place of the Deba who, as we have seen, was formerly his co-adjutor, we find him nominating an officer called Tisri or Regent. At the time of the death of Navang Lobsang the then Regent, a powerful and ambitious man,⁴¹ reputed to be a natural son of the Lama, stood at the head of a party, probably consisting mainly of members of the hierarchy, whose object was to withstand Chinese influence; and with that view, he had connected himself with Galdan, the Dsungarian chief, who had carved himself out a large kingdom in the western part of Central Asia, extending from the Altai to the Pamir steppe, and from Samarkand to Khamil. The Regent determined, in order to maintain his own power, to conceal the Lama's death, and, succeeded in doing so for sixteen years. He represented that the Lama was sunk in contemplation within his palace, and actually showed him, or some one representing him, on two occasions, to the Chinese ambassadors. A secret shared in by many could not long remain concealed from the keen-witted Kang Hi, who suspected the intrigue from the first; but it was not till after the fall of the Dsungarian kingdom, and till the Emperor was on his march towards the borders of Tibet, that the Regent admitted the Lama's death, sixteen years before, and gave a public funeral to his remains. Meanwhile he had set up a successor, a young man who gave great offence by his dissolute habits, which led men to doubt whether he was in very truth an incarnation of the Bodhisattva. A jury of Lamas was summoned at the Emperor's instigation, to decide the point; the Regent had, however, still sufficient influence to prevent the deposition of his nominee, and the jury returned an ambiguous verdict. But the Calmuck prince of Dam, who had apparently succeeded to his grandfather's position of Nomen Khan or Defender of the Faith, disgusted with the profligacy of the alleged Head of the Church, and the intrigues of his supporters, suddenly fell upon the Regent in Lhasa, put him to death, and

⁴¹ And also a man of science and energy; universas provincias perlustravit; censum egit; tributa ex æquo imposuit; vectigalibus ærarium auxit; magnifica ædificia construxit; et chorographicis tabulis, quibus Provincias omnes Tibetanas singilla-

tim descriperat, parietes sexdecim amplissimas Regiarum aedium vestivit" Georgi, 329. Osoma mentions several of his works, on astronomy and chronology, medicine, &c., which are extant, and considered valuable; *Tibetan Grammar*, p. 191.

made the young Lama a captive. *As he was carried past the monastery of Brepung the monks sallied out and recovered him ; but the Tartar prince stormed the monastery, carried off the Lama to Dam, and there, according to one account, beheaded him, (A. D. 1706) with the full concurrence of the Emperor. His successor, an adult and consecrated Lama, was forced upon Lhasa by the Calmuck Khan, but many, both of the priests and laymen, refused to believe in his genuineness, (for how could the divinity have entered the body of a grown-up man?) and a rival Lama was set up in the person of a child, Lobsang Kalsang, who fell into the Emperor's power, and was detained by him at Si-ning-fu waiting the course of events.

In 1717 an army of the Daungarians,* still in arms against China, and eager to put an end to Chinese influence in Lhasa, which they foresaw would lead by means of the Dalai Lama, to the extension of Chinese power over all High Asia, crossed the wastes around the Tengri Nur, stormed and plundered Lhasa, slew the Defender of the Faith, Latsan Khan, and forced his nominee Lama, to give up his high position, and retire into the monastery from whence he had been taken. The expedition was avowedly made on behalf of the large body of Lamas who were opposed to China, but the excesses they committed in their lust for plunder threw the whole hierarchy for the time on the side of the Emperor, who forthwith sent an army to Tibet, drove the Dsungarians back to their country, and established Chinese power in Lhasa; (A.D. 1720.) From this date the Manchurian dynasty never lost its footing in Tibet. The Emperor so far yielded to the wishes of the Lamaistic party as to accept their Dalai Lama, the prisoner of Si-ning-fu, who was straightway installed, but he appointed a lay governor to manage temporal affairs, with provincial viceroyants. As yet we hear nothing of a Chinese resident; the Governor was a Tibetan, and the Vice-Governors seem to have belonged to the Nomen Khan's Tartar troops, who were possibly dispersed in separate garrisons throughout the country.

These arrangements dissatisfied the hierarchy, and seven years after we find the Dalai Lama at the head of a band of conspirators who murdered the Gyalpo or temporal ruler, but were speedily put down by a Chinese army, aided by Polonai one of the provincial prefects. The Dalai Lama was sent a prisoner into China, a pro-Lama appointed in his place; and Polonai made Governor-General under the Chinese authorities. From this date two high Chinese officers, called Ampas, were always retained at Lhasa, nominally

* The Dsungarians are the people name of Tibet. Yule, *Marco Polo*, of the left side, as compared with Bar- i, 193.
ontala, 'the right side,' the old Mongol

as advisers of the Dalai Lama and the Governor-General, but in reality, perhaps, rather in the position of spies upon them, and they were supported by a body of Chinese troops, quartered near the capital.

In 1749 a new and terrible outbreak occurred, which may be described as the Tibetan Vespers. The second son of Polonai had succeeded his father as Gyalpo and assassinated his elder brother, a mild and unassuming Lama, who ruled the province of Ngari. Nominally as a punishment for this crime, but really because he had been detected in a conspiracy against the Chinese authorities, he was invited by the Ampas to a conference in the Government House and there strangled by their orders. The Tartar Pretorians of the guard at once rushed to arms, and aided by Tibetan troops, poured through the streets of Lhasa, carrying the Gyalpo's head on a lance, and putting to death every Chinaman they met with. The two Ampas were among the first victims of their fury. None escaped, except a party of four who were out hunting, and who, on their return, learning what had happened, ~~arranged~~ for their own safety, and sent the news to the Emperor, now the famous Kien-long. A military expedition was, of course, at once despatched, the third within thirty years; but the Emperor saw the necessity of concession, and he made over the Government without reserve, to the Dalai Lama, the same one whom his grand-father had imprisoned, giving him four ministers or Kahlons, and retaining of course the two Ampas with an increased Chinese force. These events rest on the authority of eye witnesses, as they happened while the Capuchin missionaries were residing at the capital.⁴ The annihilation of the Dsungarian nation, which followed not long after, removed the great exciting cause of rebellion in Lhasa, and henceforward armed conspiracy against the Chinese power was no longer heard of. The Dalai Lama, Lobsang Kalsang, the sixth, if we omit the two interpolated and unrecognized Lamas, died in 1758.

His successor was Lobsang Champa, in whose time and by whose instigation happened that marvellous return of the Calmucks settled in Russian territory on the Volga to the land of their forefathers on the Ili, which De Quincy has so graphically described. It conveys a grand notion of the power of the Dalai Lama, that his word could set in motion a tribe located in the heart of Russia. The few Calmuck families who remain on the Volga still acknow-

⁴ Köppen 201. "Die Würde eines Königs oder Regenten oder Grossveziers, — mochte sich derselbe bTsan po, ssdeSrid, Chan, Vang, u. s. w. tituliren, ward ganz abgeschaft und die weltliche Gewalt in ihrem vollen, Umfange dem Dalai

Lama zurückgegeben." Georgi (339 41) tells the story in full, adding (of the Emperor) "Tum probe intellexit, quam periculosum et fatale esset a sacra civilem potestatem in eo regno disjungere."

ledge his authority, although it is the interest of the Russian Government to prohibit any public recognition of his functions.

At this period, the Panchen Rimboche, or Lama of Teshú Lunpo, that great spiritual coadjutor of the Dalai Lama, emerges more fully than ever before into the light of history. Up to this date, he had had apparently no share in the temporal power; and though he was theoretically the equal of the Dalai Lama, perhaps even, as the ever-incorporate Tsongkapa, in some respects his superior, "the relations of the Dalai Lama to the Tartar tribes, and the importance he thus acquired at the Chinese court, gave him a reputation which completely overshadowed that of his rival of Teshú Lunpo. The latter, however, at this period attracted the attention of the two great neighbouring powers of Britain and China; and while the Emperor, Kien-long now an old man, was pressing him to visit the Chinese court, Warren Hastings sent an envoy, George Bogle, to Teshú Lunpo to assure the Lama of the Governor-General's good wishes, and confer about the affairs of Butan, in which his mediation had been requested. It is probable that the personal virtues of the then Lama had secured for him a position which had not been enjoyed by his predecessors; it is certain that both he and his successor were recognized as rulers of the part of Tibet nearest to the British possessions, perhaps of the province of Tsang, which, according to Mr. Edgar, is still administered by their successors. In 1779 the old Lama very unwillingly undertook that expedition to China of which the particulars have been preserved by Turner, and which, as he anticipated, proved fatal to him. He spent the winter at Kumbum, the birthplace of his ancestral self, the great Tsongkapa, and his progress from thence to the borders of China was like a triumphal procession. Mongols, Calmucks, and men of all the tribes came out to meet him, and went away happy on the receipt of the impression of his hand, stained with saffron, upon paper. The Emperor treated him with the highest honour; they marched into Peking together; his stay in China was one continued festival day; when suddenly he was taken ill with small-pox, and in, spite of all

"Writers not specially versed in history seem often to regard the Teshu Lama as the great spiritual potentate. Turner, p. 248, speaks of him as the "sovereign Lama," p. 273 "the guardian of the state and oracle of the Lama hierarchy". Hooker, ii. 177, clearly confounds him with the Dalai Lama; he calls him "the grand Lama or everliving Boodh." "Whether we estimate this man by the number of his devotees, or the perfect sincerity of their worship, he is without excep-

tion the most honoured being living in the world." In point of fact, the spiritual position of the two seems to have been equal; the Dalai Lama consecrated a young Teshu Lama, and *vice versa*. One would have thought that the Teshu Lamas would have acted for minor Dalai Lamas, but this never seems to have happened, though according to Turner the position was coveted by the adherents of the Teshu Lama of his time.

the Emperor's supplications and attentions, in spite of the distribution of large sums in charity, he died at the end of 1780.⁴⁶ It has been suggested that he was in fact poisoned by the orders of Kien-long, who feared lest the friendship which he had formed with Hastings might lead to attacks upon the Chinese power in Tibet; but it seems very improbable that Kien-long would have taken such a circuitous method of ridding himself of a dangerous friend, while the narrative of Purangir, a British subject, who accompanied the Lama on his journey, and was present during the last scenes, is explicit as to the cause of his death. No doubt the sublime selfishness of the Emperor in compelling the old man to undertake the fatal journey across snows and inhospitable wastes, in order to add lustre to a birthday feast, appeared to himself as to his courtiers an act of benevolence and condescension, and it seems not unlikely that his ulterior object was to increase the importance of the Teshú Lama, and thus raise him into a position of rivalry with the Dalai Lama.

The Dalai Lama at this time, however, was not a person of much consequence in Tibet itself; his power was apparently usurped by the Geshub Rimbochay or Nomen Khan, an officer whose legitimate functions appear to be the management of the kingdom during a minority.

The rebirth of the Teshu Lama, who died in China, took place in the valley of the Painom River, south of Teshú Lunpo, and Turner, who was deputed by Warren Hastings to prosecute the friendly intercourse which had commenced during the life-time of the late Lama, was privileged with an interview at Terpalang with the eighteen months' old sage,* who conducted himself with astonishing gravity and propriety.⁴⁷ His after-history is learned from Huc, at the time of whose visit to Tibet he was 64 years of age, but of remarkable vigour and fine bodily presence. His influence was immense, especially with the Mongols; his name was never pronounced, but with joined hands and eyes raised to heaven; he was thought to know all languages, and to be able to converse with every pilgrim in his own.

⁴⁶ The Tibetan dread of small-pox has been noted by many writers; and the disease appears to be peculiarly fatal to them. Georgi, p. 433, says that the frontier Governors had particular orders to prevent contagion from spreading into Tibet, and Turner p. 219, states that when it breaks out, the healthy leave a village and the sick are confined within it. This very Lama once moved his court to Cham-naming for fear of infection, and Teshu-lunpo was deserted for three

years—a long quarantine.

⁴⁷ Astonishing indeed, if he could listen to Turner's harangue without a smile. "I briefly said that the Governor-General on receiving the news of his decease in China, was overwhelmed with grief and sorrow, and continued to lament his absence from the world, until the cloud that had overcast the happiness of this nation was dispelled by his reappearance," &c., &c., pp. 334-5.

He had instituted a fraternity, known as the Kelans, in which he enrolled the pilgrims from all parts of Asia who visited him, and this secret association pictured itself to his ardent imagination as a means for effecting the grandest results. Not in his present life would he be the leader of the great movement; but he earnestly expected it in his next transmigration, which was to take place in Dsungaria on the steppes which stretch from beneath the Thien Shan mountains. "Religion" he believed "will fail in all hearts; only, the Kelans will keep alive the sacred spark. China will extend her dominion over Tibet; till one day the people shall rise as one from slumber, and slay their oppressors to a man; old or young, they shall not leave one to tell the tale. The Chinese Emperor will re-conquer the country, but it will be only for a time; I shall then summon my Kelans; those who are dead will come to life, and all will meet me in the plains of Thien-Shan. I shall arm and organize a vast army, cut the Chinese to pieces, conquer first Tibet, then China, then Tartary, and lastly, the vast empire of the Oross. I shall be proclaimed universal monarch (*Chakravartin*), the Church will raise her head and flourish; magnificent monasteries will rise everywhere, and the world will be one fold under one shepherd." So convinced was the old man of the certainty of his grand future, that he devoted all his time which could be spared from worship to perfecting himself in military exercises; he was an excellent archer, and familiar with the lance and matchlock; entertained troops of horses for his future cavalry, as well as great numbers of those huge Tibetan dogs, which, at once powerful and intelligent, were to play an important part in the great army of the Kelans. These ideas, adds Huc, had penetrated deeply into the hearts of the masses, especially those who had been enrolled in the fraternity, and he fully anticipated that they would at some future time bear fruit. As yet, however, nothing has been heard of them. In 1866, when Major Montgomerie's pandit visited Teshu-Lunpo he had an interview with the Panchen Rimpoche, then a boy of eleven, so that the anticipation of a re-birth in a distant corner of Tartary has not been confirmed; on the other hand there seems no doubt of a movement among the Mongols of the Blue Lake, which menaces Tibet. Between Bathang and the Khokho-Nor lies a territory which the French missionaries call Dergué, and which contains many chiefships having commercial as well as political relations with Tibet. These territories were invaded in 1868 by a powerful band of Mongol horsemen, who put to death all the Lamas and all the Tibetan officers who fell into their hands, except two whom they sent to Lhasa to inform the Dalai Lama that they

hoped to pay him a visit shortly, and transplanted more than 3,600 families to the Khokho-Nor. In 1869, at the time of our latest accounts, three bands of Mongols were in motion, one towards the north-west of China, one westward, towards the desert of Gobi; and the third in the direction of Lhasa. They declared that all the signs of the sky indicated that the time of a new Mongol migration had arrived; and all their thoughts were turned towards Tibet.* The informants of the French missionaries may have exaggerated the danger; but we cannot refuse to believe in the existence of great uneasiness among the Mongol clans, and in the possibility of a raid upon Lhasa, at some not distant time.

To resume; an event which occurred not long after Turner's visit to Teshú-Lunpo—I mean the Gurkha War—soon checked the hopes then formed of frequent British intercourse with Tibet. The Gurkhas, who were by 1780 masters of the whole Himalaya from the Satlaj to the Tista, embroiled themselves with the Tibetans, according to their own account, because the latter refused to withdraw from circulation debased Nepalese coin; but according to a more probable story, from pure covetousness of the wealth of Tibet, which had been described to them in glowing colours by a fugitive Tibetan, brother of the Teshú Lama who died in China. They made a sudden raid (1791) upon Teshú Lunpo, which they sacked, the young Lama with difficulty escaping across the river; and then returned to carry their booty home to Khatmandu. The Emperor demanded restitution, and on the refusal of the Nepalese, sent an army of 70,000 against them. A fierce battle was fought at Tingri-Maidan, and the Nepalese troops were driven from one fastness to another through the Himalayas, till at length the Chinese army had arrived within a few marches of Khatmandu, when peace was solicited and granted, on condition of full restitution and an annual tribute. The Chinese occupied a series of military posts along the whole Himalayan frontier, and believing that the Company had actively assisted the Gurkhas, whose discipline and military accoutrements were modelled on ours, henceforth rigidly excluded all British subjects from crossing the passes which led into their Tibetan dominions.

These events led also, to a further consolidation of Chinese power in Tibet. The nomination to administrative posts had been previously in the hands of the Lamas; it was now assumed by the Chinese ministers, and arrangements were made by which the Chinese authorities had a voice in the election of the incarnations of the Dalai and other great Lamas. At the next vacancy, however, in the office of Dalai Lama, the formalities of election were, apparently dispensed with, as the one candidate showed such

* Deagodin's, 123-7 from a letter of Tibet, dated 3rd November 1869.
Mgr. Chauveau, *Vin et Apo tolie*.

overwhelming proofs of his divinity that he was elected by acclamation. He died a minor, however, one of the three successive Dalai Lamas whom, according to Huc's account, the Nomen Khan, an able and ambitious man, put to death; one was stabbed; the next killed by the falling in of a roof; the third poisoned with his whole family. The Nomen Khan, whose functions would have determined with the majority of the Lama, succeeded thus in retaining power in his hands for 28 years, (1816-1844). At length the four Kahlons, fearing lest another should be added to the list of victims, besought the Panchen Rimboche to ask the Emperor's interference; he did so, and the minister, Ki-chan, who had been disgraced by the Emperor for making peace with Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary at Cantou, was re-called from banishment, and sent to enquire into the conduct of the Nomen Khan. By the aid of torture evidence was soon procured; Ki-chan sent in his report, and after three months, the people to their great consternation found the walls placarded with an imperial edict in three languages, on yellow paper, bordered with winged dragons, which condemned their ruler to perpetual banishment in the furthest part of Manchuria. The utmost agitation prevailed; the Nomen Khan, a stern man, and accused of the gravest of crimes, was loved by few, but the Chinese intervention was an unheard-of humiliation. The monastery of Sera was devoted to his cause; fifteen thousand monks armed with whatever came to hand precipitated themselves on Lhasa with eager cries for vengeance. They rushed first to the Chinese Embassy, shouting "Death to Ki-chan! Death to the Chinese," but the Envoy had hidden himself in the house of the Kahlons; the excited fanatics demanded that he should be made over to them; one of the Kahlons was torn to pieces, and the other three seriously wounded; but as night fell the Lamas were obliged to give up the strife and returned to Sera. When morning came, and they were ready to renew the attempt, they found the plain between Sera and Lhasa filled with Chinese and Tibetan soldiers prepared to bar their passage; they lost heart, and turned in quietly to morning service. The Nomen Khan, *che fece per villate il gran rifiuto*, for if he had put himself at the head of the monks, he might have been master of Tibet, quietly left Lhasa a few days after for the place of his exile. A successor was chosen who was also a minor; and the first of the four Kahlons was nominated Regent. Huc has left us a very pleasing impression of the Regent's character, and seemed to anticipate great success in the mission from his favourable disposition, but Huc and Gabet had scarcely been a month in Lhasa, when they were deported by order of Ki-chan.

For the occurrences since their departure we depend on oral information alone. Mr. Edgar's is apparently the most accurate,

but it is supplemented by the statements of the French missionaries. For some time back the office of Geshub who is sometimes called Nomen Khan (though the Nomen Khan was, as we have seen, properly a foreign potentate or general called in to assist the Dalai Lama) had been filled by one of the heads of four of the great Lhasa monasteries—Chemeling, Tengiling, Chechooling, and Kendooling,—who were called the four Lings. The Gesub now exiled was the Lama of Chemeling.⁴⁹ Ki-chan and his supporters however promulgated an edict of the Dalai Lama and the Emperor declaring the four Lings for ever incapable of holding the office of Geshub, and Rating Lama, now a minor, who was appointed to the post, was represented, as we have seen by Pe-chi, whom Mr. Edgar calls the Shete Shaffee. At this time Pe-chi was apparently in alliance with the Chinese party and with the monks of some of the newer monasteries, especially Bripung, and in opposition to the national party represented by the four Lings. The Chinese envoy “seems,” says Mr. Edgar, “to have made great changes in the administration of Thibet, to have remodelled the whole of the civil offices, to have obtained for the Ampahs the complete control of frontier affairs, to have bound over the Thibet Government by very stringent agreements to the policy of isolation, and to have attempted the formation of something like a militia.” After some time he was made Governor of Szechuen. Then a contest broke out between Rating Lama, who had attained his majority, and Pe-chi, who was thereby superseded. Of this struggle the French missionaries give a curious and circumstantial account. It appears that Pe-chi had become, or perhaps always was in his heart, opposed to the Chinese influence, and that the Chinese and the lamas of their party quietly set him aside, permitting him to retire, with nominal honours, into the country. He remained in this honourable exile for four years, during which time he never relaxed his efforts to recover power. He secretly by his emissaries distributed large sums of money, so as to increase the number of his adherents; he even took holy orders,⁵⁰ and party to increase

⁴⁹ The four monasteries called the lings are all in or near Lhasa, and their position is described by the Pandit (*u. s.*, pp. 173-4. From the history as told above it would seem that the monks of these four lamaseras were determinedly opposed to Chinese influence throughout, and that the change effected by Ki-chan removed the regency from them to the newer lamaseras which are now more important; Bripung, from which the Lama Rating was chosen to be regent, has 7700 monks, and Galdan, the

Celestial monastery, whose Abbot became the last regent, has 8000.

⁵⁰ I have consulted Mr. Edgar on this point, and he knows nothing of Shete Shaffee having adopted the priesthood. Mr. Edgar's information is generally remarkably correct, and the matter must be left in doubt; but the assumption of the priesthood late in life is not without precedent. The Pandit is very confused in his account of these transactions, and confounds the struggle with the Chemeling lama described by Huc, with the struggle

his reputation, partly to conceal his purposes, spent his time, so far as men could see, in turning the prayer-wheel and reading books of devotion. The opportunity soon came; the rebellions in Western China had the effect of stopping the pensions sent by the Emperor for certain Lamas, who demanded them from the Gesub; he, being without funds, referred the malcontents to the Ampas, who were forced to conceal themselves in the Embassy; the Lamas, thus thwarted, revolted against the Gesub; he fled to Pekin, and a civil war ensued between his party, apparently the Bripung monks, and the revolted Lamas. Now was Pe-chi's time, his name was on every one's lips, and the Ampas themselves sent for him, as the only man who could restore peace. He thus became Gesub; he did restore peace, but it was by energetic action; he rooted out the adherents of the previous Gesub, that is, the Chinese party among the Lamas, putting many to death, and sending others into exile, and even cowed the Ampas, assuring them that he could govern without their help; and in 1864, he ruled Lhasa with undisputed power. His reign was marked by more than one external war; with the Chantoui, independent Tibetans on the borders of Szechuen; with the Gurkhas, who attempted an invasion, but whom he resisted successfully, taking several guns.

The accounts of what happened after his death, for it seems certain that he was dead in 1869, vary considerably; the missionaries say that Rating Lama returned from China, and after another severe contest with the lamaserais of Lhasa, probably the four Lings, obtained the victory, and beheaded their chiefs, order being thus re-established for the time. But there is little doubt that Rating Lama died in China; and Mr. Edgar was distinctly informed that Pe-chi, or Shete Shaffee, was succeeded as Geshub by the aged Lama of Galdan, a man of great repute for learning and piety. On his death, which happened quite lately, the Dalai Lama, the intelligent boy of thirteen who was seen by the nameless Pandit in 1865, and who has now attained his majority, assumed the reins of power himself, as he was constitutionally entitled to do under the arrangements made by Kien-long in 1750. At present therefore there is no such officer as the Geshub or "King of Tibet," who was in fact merely the ruler during a minority, and it is only because by chance or crime, from 1805 to the present time, the Dalai Lama has always been a minor, that the Geshub's office obtained the importance which it has lately possessed. I lay stress upon this because it has been represented that the assumption of secular power by the Dalai Lama, of which Mr. Edgar entertains no doubt, is in some sort an indication of the decline of Chinese influence. There may have been such a

decline, but it probably dates a little further back, and arises from the numerous rebellions in the western provinces of China which have prevented regular and constant communication with Tibet. The French missionaries explicitly assert that the revolution by which Shete Shaffee became master of Tibet was brought about by this failure of communication, and we have seen the high-handed way in which he dealt with the Ampas,—a line which he could hardly have taken while Chinese influence was flourishing in the west. At this moment, when the Panthay insurrection has been suppressed, when China is according to the latest intelligence busy about the rectification of her frontiers on the side of Kashgar, it is not very likely that absolute independence will be accorded to Tibet. And it has never been the policy of China to interfere minutely with Tibetan affairs; her great objects are two, to defend the frontiers, and, with an eye to commerce, to exclude Europeans from the country. In respect of internal administration, it has always been her interest, for obvious reasons to support the Dalai Lama, and to aggrandize his position as much as possible; so that the change by which the Lama has obtained personal power in Tibet has probably been carried out with the full concurrence of the Chinese authorities. The two points which are of most importance in the present state of Tibetan politics, are firstly the movements of the Mongols of Khokho-Nor, which may or may not have any connexion with the anticipations of the Panchen Rimboche as described by Huc (probably not, for the missionaries represent the Mongol movements to be dissociated from, and hostile to, Lamaism); and the widespread belief testified to by the Pandit that the soul of the Dalai Lama is privileged to transmigrate thirteen times. The present Lama is said to be the thirteenth, and it is possible, therefore, that if Chinese influence be not actively exerted for his re-appearance, he may be the last of the series.⁶¹

⁶¹ The list of the Dalai Lamas is as follows:—

1. dGe 'dun grub pa; after Tsong-kapa's death in 1419.
2. dGe 'dun rGya mThso, 1476.
3. bSod namss rGya mThso, 1543, (the first called Dalai Lama.)
4. You tan rGya mThso, 1588; (born in Mongolia.)
5. Ngag dBang bLo bSang rGya mThso, 1617-1682.
(Interregnum, with two pretenders, of whom one is counted by M. Desgodins as the sixth Lama.)
6. bSang ssKal bSang rGya mThso, 1706-1758.
7. bLo bSang 'Dscham dPal rGya mThso, 1758-1805.
8. Lung rTogss rGya mThso, 1805-1815, murdered by the Regent.
9. Thsul khrimss rGya mThso, murdered in 1837.
10. Between the last two there must have been another Lama murdered in his minority; Huc is distinct about three, but names no names.
11. dGe dMure (?) rGya mThso of Köppen, Kar-djou-gua-tso of Desgodins; he died in 1855, after having lost the use of his limbs. This was the Lama in Huc's time.
12. Name not known; said to have

The Chinese troops in Tibet consist, according to the latest accounts, of about 4,000 only, distributed along the frontier, and at Lhassa and Teshu Lunpo.⁵² They form also the postal service, and are under two tong-lings or colonels, one at Tsiampo on the eastern frontier, and the other at Lhassa, but these officers have none except purely departmental functions. A small Civil Service is maintained for postal services, the administration of frontier provinces and so on; but the whole Chinese garrison of Tibet is too small to undertake any of the duties of Government proper or to resist an armed rising. The Tibetans could, with little difficulty, cut up the whole Chinese force, and assert their independence; and that they have not done so, may be ascribed to one or all of three causes, namely, *firstly*, their belief in the *reserve* power of China, as displayed frequently in the history of Tibet, and notably after the vespers of 1749; *secondly*, the motives which induce the Dalai Lama and the principal Lamas and ministers to support Chinese power, namely, actual pensions paid by China to each, and in the case of the Dalai Lama, an immeasurable fund of influence exerted on the Mongolian tribes, who largely support the Lamas' dignity by their offerings. If Tibet were cut off from China it would be the natural policy of the latter to decree the re-birth of the Lama in one of the great northern monasteries, or to transfer his functions to one of the powerful Mongolian Lamas incarnate. The third ground is what I have already referred to, the actual independence of Tibet in all but foreign relations, and the abstention of the Chinese from direct interference with Government. Tibet would gain nothing by the change except the admission of Europeans—a problematical benefit from a Tibetan point of view.

The space I have at my disposal does not allow me to enter into details on the character of the Tibetans, their manners, institutions, and social customs, of which some notion may be derived

been born in 1856 (which agrees with the Pandit's statement of his age) "c'est-à-dire à même année que le fils de Napoleon III, et que l'empereur actuel de la Chine."

See Köppen 235-6, and Desgodins, 216-9; the present Lama is thus the twelfth, not the thirteenth, unless one of the pretenders be counted.

⁵² Desgodins, 204-9, confirmed by Edgar, p. 47. The postal duties appear terrible. Montgomerie p. 149. "The pandit said these men always looked haggard and worn. They have to ride the whole distance continuously without stopping either by night or

day except to eat food and change horses. In order to make sure that they never take off their clothes, the breast fastening of their over-coat is sealed, and no one is allowed to break the seal, except the officer to whom the messenger is sent. The Pandit says he saw several of the messengers arrive at the end of their 800 miles' ride. Their faces were cracked, their eyes bloodshot and sunken, and their bodies eaten by lice into large raws." A special messenger does the 800 miles in 22 days on the average; an ordinary messenger takes 30.

from the pages of the Abbé Huc; but I must devote a few concluding words to the known facts on the subject of trade.⁵³

The Tibetans are eminently a commercial people, and it is stated that every person in authority, including even the Chief Lamas of the monasteries, keeps an agent and carries on trade on his own account. Besides this, a large number of Mussulman traders from Kashmîr are located in the capital. The inhospitable nature of the country, which produces few articles that are required by the rest of the world, makes bullion an important article of export, and there is no doubt that with a more careful exploitation of the mines of silver and gold which abound in Tibet, commercial transactions would assume larger proportions. Silver especially seems to be frequent even near Lhasa, but the authorities prohibit the working of the mines, it is said from a superstition that it would bring impoverishment to the country, and cause the men to degenerate. There is no prohibition against working the gold mines; and those of Thok Jalung in 32° 30' N. latitude, north of Kailas, and under the still loftier peaks of Aling Gangri, are said to be especially productive.

The commerce of Tibet with China is carried on almost entirely along the great road between Tatsienlu and Lhasa. The Chinese import into Tibet tea, cotton fabrics, thread, porcelains, and Yunnan ponies, and receive from Tibet silver, salt, blankets and other woollen goods, furs, drugs, and musk. Brick tea is the especial article of import from this side. It is made mostly in the neighbourhood of Ya-tsow in Szechuan from a hedgerow tree fifteen feet high, with a large and coarse leaf.⁵⁴ The packet of four bricks (weighing 5 lbs. each) is bought at Tatsien-lu for about six and fourpence; it sells at Lhasa for £1-4 to £1-8, and at a much greater sum in the districts which lie off the grand road. It is clear, therefore, that our Darjeeling planters could supply Lhasa with tea which would undersell the Chinese tea at a very considerable profit, and could make a still larger profit by supplying the country which lies between Lhasa and the frontier of Sikkim. The better teas are seldom imported, and they cost about two rupees a pound at

⁵³ On the whole subject of trade, the information given by the Abbé Desgodins, pp. 278-320, is of great importance. Compare also Edgar pp. 48-53. For mines, see Desgodins, 268, 293-7; and a letter of Mgr. Chauveaux to the Editor of the *Indo-European Correspondence* translated on pp. 333-9; also Montgomerie's *Report of the Trans-Himalayan Exploration during 1857*, in *J. R. Geogr. S.* xxxix. 146-15. Gold mines seem to spread for a vast distance

along the low country north of the Brahmaputra.

⁵⁴ Cooper, *loc. cit.* p. 172. A *Times* writer speaks of tea grown in Tibet,—“Tea grown” exclaims Lord Strangford “at an average level of 14,000 feet above the sea! Tea for the use of the Alpine Club grown on the Grands Mulets after that; tea (green, of course) in Greenland; . . . Walrusian tea from America; cheap Labrador tea for the working man—but no more of this.” *Selected Writings*, II, 248.

Lhassa. M. Desgodins calculates the annual supply of tea at about six millions of pounds, producing not less than an income of £300,000. Chinese cottons are largely imported into Eastern Tibet, but at Lhassa their place is supplied by Indian goods. Silks of good striking colours sell at about their weight in silver, and are generally brought from the north of China through the Khokho-Nor country.

China imports from Tibet a large quantity of silver, including great numbers of English rupees melted down into ingots.⁵⁵ Some of this finds its way through Ladak, but a large quantity passes into Tibet from Assam, by the Towang route, as the Tibetans who come down to our frontier fairs for trade generally take money in exchange for their goods. The inhabitants of the mountainous country of Szechuen clothe themselves to a great extent in Tibetan blankets. Tibetan musk is much esteemed in China, and there is a great demand for it, but it reaches the sea-coast in a very adulterated state; the best musk is said to be that produced in the Mishmi country, and this trade, at least, ought to come into our own hands. Salt is abundant in all parts of Tibet, and is produced by solar evaporation in shallow pits. Tibet supplies part of Szechuen, the whole of Yunan, and all the wild tribes along the Lou-tse-kiang and in the north of Birma.

Of the trade with the north we know very little. The Pandit states that from Jelung in Tartary are brought gold lace, silks, precious gems, carpets of a superior manufacture, horse saddles, horses, and a very large kind of *dumba* sheep.

Between Tibet and India there is a considerable trade through Kashmir and Ladakh; some also passes through Nepal and Bhotan, especially Towang to the east, where Tibetan territory actually marches with our frontiers. English woollen cloths are much sought after in Tibet, but they have apparently to contend with importations from Russia. M. Desgodins saw numerous packets on their way to the salt works wrapped in wax-cloths bearing the name of a Halifax maker, and he says they appear made expressly for Tibet, where they sell well, though the quality is but mediocre. The people are used to European sizes, and the cost is 20 to 40 francs a square piece of the whole breadth. Scarlet is the favourite colour; green and violet are not so much in demand; a golden yellow would fetch a good price. The scarlet cloth is used for shawls, dresses, borders of carpets, and linings for boots and saddles. Flowered calicos, both Indian and European, are also much used for lining walls. The missionaries frequently found tin-plates evidently of English manufacture. "The demand for

⁵⁵ And also in their original shape. The Tibetans prefer the coins of the Queen as Empress of India, whose effigy they take for that of the Grand Lama.

indigo" says Mr. Edgar "is very great, and the profit on it is greater than that on any other import, varying from 50 to 100 per cent on the cost of importing the article. This is accounted for by an alleged difficulty in getting it in small quantities from the producers, which creates a practical monopoly in favour of traders with what is for Tibet, a large capital, while the use of the dye is universal in the country." Corals also form a large item of the Indian imports; the preference is for round grains pierced, or oval grains with the ends truncated, and pierced through the length; a piece as large as a pea fetches its weight in gold, and the price augments with the size; the darkest colours are the most esteemed. Turquoises and other precious stones, and pearls, are much imported. Rice is mainly imported for the use of the Chinese residents.

The chief exports from Tibet by the Nepal and Ladakh routes are blankets, musk, yaks' tails, borax, ponies, gold and silver. The Kashmír merchants almost always pay in bullion for the articles imported by them, and much of the silver is that which has entered Tibet by the Towang route. Tea is brought into Dárjiling from Tibet for the use of the natives—a fact which does not tell for the enterprise of our planters. Tibetan salt also is sold in the market at Rs. 2 a maund less than the price of sea-borne salt; but the demand will probably cease with the opening of the railway. Coarse blankets command a good sale in Dárjiling, and musk, chowries, and silk piece-goods also enter our frontier.

If a good frontier road were opened through Sikkim, Mr. Edgar believes that large quantities of cows and sheep, *ghé* and wool would find their way into India. The real wealth of Tibet consists in its herds and flocks; and its mutton is said to be the best in the world. All traffic is at present taken on Bhutias' backs; but Sir George Campbell has pressed for a road, and was of opinion that a line into the Chumbi Valley, that outlying spur of Tibetan territory which stretches between Sikkim and Butan, would be the best for traffic, and would give Europeans an opportunity of visiting Tibet; the change from moist Bengal into the dry plateau climate could not but be beneficial. He has also requested the Government of India, now that the Chinese Emperor is of age, to press for a re-consideration of the exclusion policy, remarking that if the road were opened it would "only be used by grain traders, and by responsible Government servants, or travellers, under the control of Government, going in search of information or for change of climate." There is no doubt that such a road would greatly facilitate trade, but it may be permitted me to question whether the Chinese spirit of exclusion is likely to be relaxed, in order that we may supply the Tibetans with

Danjiling-made tea, and so cut off a large item of Chinese trade. The one point on which the Chinese authorities insist, and on which it is of no use to argue with them, is that the Lamaistic religion would suffer from our presence in China; the Dalai Lama is, as I have often said, a functionary of the greatest importance in the imperial management of Mongolia, and although the Tibetans themselves have apparently no objection to our presence, as is gathered from the history of Huc's residence in Lhasa, and from all the statements they make to our frontier officers, yet it suits the Chinese to insist that the Tibetans fear the visits of Europeans. The letter to the Sikkim Raja protesting against Mr. Edgar's entry into Tibet was addressed, not, by the Dalai Lama or the Gyalpo, but by the two Ampahs or Chinese ministers; and the representation to the Emperor against Mr. Cooper's visit emanated also from the Chinese authorities; but the latter letter throws the whole *onus* of the prohibition upon the "obstinate and determined character" of the Lamas.⁶⁶

I had intended to give a mere review of Mr. Edgar's interesting and suggestive report; but the interest of the subject has led me beyond these bounds, and as I have not been able to find a correct sketch of Tibetan history in any English book, I have done my best to supply the deficiency. I have endeavoured for the most part to confine myself to information which is not accessible in any of the ordinary English sources, and trust that short-comings may be pardoned in a paper prepared under the pressure of official duties, and under circumstances which necessitated very hasty work. In conclusion, I must express the hope that Mr. Edgar, whose position on the frontier gives him ample opportunities for enquiry, and whose culture and intelligence exceptionally qualify him for the task, will not relax his efforts to obtain information on the points on which our knowledge is still deficient, and will successfully treat the subject which I have only roughly dealt with.

WILFRED L. HEELEY.

⁶⁶ See p. 17 of Mr. Edgar's *Report*; also Cooper, pp. 468-71. "In the 25th year of Tookuang (1846) two Englishmen (what an affront to Huc and Gabet!) suddenly made their appearance in Tibet, and were immediately sent back, to the place from whence they set out by His Excellency Kie-shew. The coming of these persons

at once offended all the tutelary deities of Tibet: year after year the people were afflicted with various sicknesses, the horses and cattle were struck with epidemics, the land was ravaged by locusts, the crop were deficient, and the country in many ways suffered injury."

ART. VIII.—RUSTIC BENGAL.

I.—THE VILLAGE.

SIR H. MAINE'S "Village Communities" and other recently published books, have served to make widely known in England the important place which the "village"-folds in Indian Political Economy, and it may not be without use to endeavour to describe for English readers even in this country a type specimen of an agricultural village as it exists in Bengal at the present day; for it differs as much from an English village, as two things bearing the same designation can well be conceived to differ.

There is but one form of landscape to be seen in deltaic Bengal and that a very simple one. From the sea line of the Sunderbunds on the South, to the curve which passing through Dacca, Pubna, Moorsheedabad, forms the lower boundary of the red land of the North, the whole country is almost a perfectly level alluvial plain. It exhibits generally large open spaces—sometimes very large—limited to the eye by heavy masses of foliage. These open spaces, during the height of the South-West Monsoon, are more or less covered with water; at the end of the rains by green waving swarths of rice; and in the dry season are to a large extent fallow ground, varied by plots of the different cold weather (or *rabi*) crops.

There exist almost no roads; that is to say, except a few trunk roads of communication between the capital and the district towns, there are almost none of the European sort, only irregular tracts, sometimes traversable by wheels, along the balks (or *ails*) which divide and sub-divide the soil into small cultivated patches or *khêts*. The few other roads which do exist, are *kachcha*, i.e., unmetalled, and pretty nearly useless except in the dry season.*

The function of main roads as the means of locomotion and carriage of goods is performed in a large part of Bengal by innumerable *khals* or canals, which branching out from the great rivers Hooghly, Ganges, Pudda, Megna, &c., intersect the country in all directions. Boat travelling upon them is somewhat monotonous, inasmuch as the banks are almost uniformly of bare, greasy, mud high enough above the water, at other times thar during the rains, to shut out from view all that is not placed immediately

* On the relatively high land of West Bengal, which lies outside the delta and below the *ghâts*, something like roads may be seen through and about the large villages, though even these are often not fitted for wheel traffic. The description in the text is intended for the delta alone.

on their upper margin. But now, and then extremely pretty scenes occur, where mango topes and bamboo clumps, straggling with broken front over and along the top, partially disclose the picturesque dwellings which are clustered beneath their shade. River craft of elegant shape and quaintly loaded cargoes are drawn to the *ghât*, as the sloping ramp is called, or are moored in the water way; and at the bathing hour of early noon the shallower water becomes alive with groups of men, women and children immersed to the waist, and performing their daily ablutions in truly oriental fashion.

Whether a village is thus placed on the high bank of a *khal*, or is situated inland, it invariably stands on relatively elevated ground above reach of the waters which clothe the Bengal world annually during the period of rains, and is almost as invariably hidden, so to speak, dwelling by dwelling in the midst of jungle. In fact the masses of seemingly forest growth, which appear to bound the open spaces of the ordinary landscape, are commonly but villages in a pleasant disguise.

These can be approached on every side across the *khéts* by passing along the dividing (*ails*) balks. No trace of a street or of any order in the arrangement of the houses is usually to be discerned in them.

Perhaps, it would be correct to say that there are no houses in the European sense; each dwelling is a small group of huts generally four, and is conveniently termed a homestead. This is the unit of the material, out of which every village is constructed, and therefore merits a particular description.

The site of the group is a very carefully levelled platform, raised somewhat above the general elevation of the village land, roughly square in outline and containing say about 800 or 1,000 square yards in area. The huts of which the homestead is composed are made of bamboo and matting, or of bamboo wattled and plastered over with mud, sometimes of mud alone, the floor of the structure being again raised of mud above the level of the platform. Each is one apartment only about 20 feet long and 10 or 15 feet wide, commonly without a window; the side walls are low, the roof is high peaked, with gracefully curved ridge, and is thatched with a jungle grass; the eaves project considerably, thus forming low verandahs on the back and front of the hut. These huts are ranged on the sides of the platform facing inwards, and though they seldom touch one another at the ends, yet they do in a manner shut in the interior space, which thus constitutes a convenient place for the performance of various household operations and may be termed the house-space; the native name for it is *uthan*. It is here that the children gambol and bask, seeds are spread to dry, the old women sit and spin; and so on.

The principal hut often has, in addition to the door which opens on this interior quadrangle or house-space, a second door and well-kept verandah on the opposite side opening on the path, by which the dwelling can be best approached. This is the *baitakhāna* (sitting room) and is the place where strangers, or men not belonging to the family are received. It is also very commonly the sleeping place of the male members of the family at night. The mud floor of the hut or verandah spread with a mat is all the accommodation needed for this purpose; though the head of the house or other favoured individual may afford himself the luxury of a *charpoy*, which is simply sacking, or a coarsely made web of tape or cord, stretched across a rude four-legged frame of wood. The hut, which stands on the further side of the quadrangle, facing the *baitakhāna*, is appropriated to the women and children, one of the two others contains the *chula* or mud fireplace and serves the purpose of kitchen, and the fourth is a *gola* or store-room of grain. In one of the huts, whether in the quadrangle or outside, will be the *dhenkhi* and that hut generally goes by the name of *dhenkhi-ghar*. The *dhenki* is an indispensable domestic utensil, a very large pestle and mortar, the main purpose of which is to husk rice. The mortar is commonly a vessel excavated out of a log of wood, and is sunk in the ground; the pestle is the hammer head (also wooden) of a horizontal lever bar which works on a low post or support, and the other arm of which is depressed by one or two women applying their weight to it; upon their relieving this arm of their weight the hammer falling pounds the *paddy* in the mortar, and by the continuance of this operation the husk of the grain is rubbed off. *Paddy*, the grain of rice, somewhat remotely resembles barley, and must be husked before it can be eaten. It is surprising how effectively the *dhenki* attains its object.

If the family is more than ordinarily well off, the house group may contain more than four huts; there will often be a hut or shed open at the sides in which the cattle are tethered, carrying on a frail loft the primitive plough and other small implements of husbandry: also in Hindu houses a *thakurbāri*, or hut in which the figure of the family deity or patron saint is preserved.

When the number of huts exceeds four in all, one or more as the bullockshed, *gola*, &c., or even the *dhenki-ghar* will commonly be situated outside the quadrangle, perhaps in front of or near to a corner.

The homestead platform is generally surrounded in an irregular manner by large trees, such as mango, pipal, palms. In small clearings among these a few herbs and vegetables are grown for family use in the curry. And the whole area or compound which belongs to the homestead is marked off from its neighbours, generally in some very obscure manner by most rude metes and

bounds; though very rarely a tolerably neat fence of some sort may be met with. The women of the family keep the hardened mud floor of the house-space, of the principal huts and of the verandahs, scrupulously clean, and often adorn the front wall of the *baitakhāna* with grotesque figures in chalk. But as a rule, the remainder of the homestead compound is in a most neglected dirty condition; even the small vegetable plots are commonly little more than irregular scratchings in the midst of low jungle undergrowth. There is nothing resembling a well-kept garden and there are no flowers. The modern Bengali has a very imperfect appreciation of neatness under any circumstances and is absolutely incapable unassisted of drawing either a straight line or an evenly curved line; the traces left by his plough, the edges of his little fields, the rows of his planted paddy, &c., exhibit as little order or method as the marks of the famous inked spider legs across the sheet of paper.

The ordinary agricultural village of Bengal is but a closely packed aggregate of such homesteads as that just described differing from each other only in small particulars according to the means and occupations of their owners, and more or less concealed among the trees of their compounds. There is too, here and there, waste land in the shape of unoccupied sites for dwellings, and also tanks or ponds of water in the excavations, which furnished the earth for the construction of the homestead, platforms, &c.

These tanks are often rich in all sorts of abominations overhung with jungle, and surface-covered with shiny pond-weed; but they are nevertheless among the most precious possessions of the village. The people bathe there, cleanse their body cloths, get their drinking water and even catch fish in them. For, it should be mentioned that in Bengal every pool of water swarms with fish, small or great; the very ditches, gutters and hollows which have been dried up for months, on the first heavy downfall filling them, turn out to be complete preserves of little fish and it is strange on such an occasion to see men, women and children on all sides with every conceivable form of net straining the waters for their scaly prey. Sometimes a fortunate or a wealthy ryot has a tank attached to his homestead, all his own, to which his neighbours have no right to resort.

To find a particular dwelling among such a cluster as this is an almost impossible task, for a stranger. The narrow paths, which threading deviously in and out between the scarcely distinguished compounds, passing under trees and over mounds around the tanks and cross the rare *maidān* (green) answer to the streets and lanes of an English village, but in truth they constitute a labyrinth, of which none but the initiated are in possession of the clue.

The land which the cultivators of the village, *i.e.*, the bulk of the inhabitants, till, is a portion of the lower lying plain outside and around the village. The family of a homestead which may consist of a father and sons, or of brothers or of cousins, usually cultivates from 2 to 10 acres in the whole, made up of several plots, which often lie at some distance from one another. The men go out to their work at daybreak, plough on shoulder, driving their cattle before them along the nearest village path which leads to the open; sometimes they return at noon for a meal and a bathe in the tank, and afterwards go out a second time to their work, but oftener they remain out till the afternoon, having some food brought to them about midday by the children. One man and his young son (ten or twelve years old) with a plough and a pair of oxen will cultivate as much as three acres, and so on in proportion.* There is no purely agricultural labouring class as we English know it. Small cultivators and the superfluous hands of a family will work spare times for hire on their neighbours' land, and in some villages where the occupation of a caste, say the weaver's caste, has died a natural death, the members, forced to earn their livelihood by manual labour, amongst other employments take to labour on the land for wages. For the harvest a somewhat peculiar arrangement is often made. The *paddy* grown on land in one situation will ripen somewhat later or earlier than *paddy* grown under slightly different circumstances, † and so small gangs of cultivators from one village or district will go to help the cultivators of a distant village to cut their *paddy*, this assistance being returned if needed. The remuneration received for this work is usually one bundle out of every five, or out of every seven, that are cut. The foreigners build a mat hut for themselves in the harvest field, extemporize a threshing-floor and after having completed their service carry home their bags of grain. The large topic of agricultural cultivation and landholding will be treated of in a later page.

Perhaps the most striking feature apparent in the village community, as seen by the European eye, is the seeming uniformity in the ways and manners of the daily life of all the component classes, a uniformity which from its comprehensiveness indicates a low level of refinement. From one end to the other of the village the homestead presents scarcely any variation of particular, whether the occupant be a poor ryot, or a comparatively wealthy *mahajan* or trader, and its furniture is pretty nearly as meagre in the one case as in the other. Sometimes the house of the

* Perhaps even more, with the aid in which they are reaped or gathered received in reaping, &c.

† Crops are known by designations as *Bhadouri*, *Kharif*, *Rabi*, and these respectively depend upon the drawn from the months or seasons season of sowing.

wealthier and more influential man is *gukka* or brick built, but it is seldom on this account superior in appearance to the thatched bamboo homestead of his neighbour. On the contrary, it is generally out of repair and partially broken down. Its plan is quadrangular, like that of the homestead, with a similar arrangement of offices, and being closed in with its own walls is, as a rule, very dismal and dirty on the inside. The interior courtyard by its untidiness and unkempt aspect, commonly offers a striking contrast to the wholesome cleanliness of the open homestead *uthan*. Little more is to be found in the front apartment than in the *baitukhāna* hut of the peasant, if he has one. Probably the one man will have finer and more numerous body cloths than the other and better blankets; his cooking utensils and other domestic articles (very few in all) may be of brass instead of earthenware, his *hukhus* of metal, or even silver-mounted, instead of a coconut shell—his women will wear richer and a greater quantity of ornaments than the women of his neighbour. He may have a wooden *gadhi* (*talhtaposh*) or low platform in his receiving room, on which he and his guests or clients may sit cross-legged, slightly raised above the earthen floor. He may have a richly carved in place of a plain, *sanduk*, or strong box, for the custody of his valuables, or even a plurality of them. But both households will conform to the same general habits of life, and those very primitive. The food of the two is pretty much alike, rice in some form or another, and curry; and this is eaten by taking it, out of the platter or off the plantain leaf with the fingers. The appliances of a slightly advanced stage of manners such as anything in the shape of knives and forks and spoons for eating purposes, tables, chairs, &c., are almost unknown.

At home, and while at work, most men go naked, all but the *dhori* or loin cloth, and very commonly children of both sexes up to the age of six or seven years are absolutely naked. In Europe, as men rise above the poorer classes in means, they apply their savings in the first instance to the increase of personal comfort, convenience, the better keeping of their houses, and its incidents, the garden, &c. This appears not to be the case in Bengal to any great extent. Often the foreigner's eye can detect but little distinction between the homesteads and surroundings of the almost pauper peasant and those of the retired well-to-do tradesman. The mode in which the possession of wealth is made apparent, is ordinarily by the expenditure of money at family ceremonies, such as marriages, *shraddhas* (funeral obsequies) and readings of national and religious epics, the Bhagbut, Rāmāyan, and so on. On the occasions of *shutis* and *shraddhas* the cost is in the preparation and purchase of offerings, presents and payments to Brahman priests, presents to, and the feeding of, Brahmans generally.

For the readings, the Brahman narrator (*kathak*) is paid very highly, and both he and his audience are sometimes maintained for several days by the employer. Then certain religious festivals are kept annually by such families as can afford to do so. In particular Kali's in Kartik (October) Laksmi's at about the same time and Saraswati's or Sri Panchami's in Magh (end of January). And ceremonies in honour of Durga are commonly performed by well-to-do people. At these times, rich families spend very large sums of money, indeed. The social respect, which is everywhere commanded by the possession of wealth, seems to be meted out in Bengal very much according to the mode or degree of magnificence with which these semi-public family duties are performed, and thus it happens that even in the most out-of-the-way agricultural village, such small ostentation in this way as can be attained unto, is the first aim of the petty capitalist in preference to any effort at improving the conditions of his daily life. The people are still in a stage of civilization, in which the advantages of refinement and convenience in the manner of living are unfelt, and the exciting pleasures of the spectacle all powerful.

In village families, the women are almost all alike absolutely ignorant and superstitious. Their dress is a coarse cloth with rude ornaments on their arms and ankles. They do all the menial work of the household, even when the family ranks among the better classes. Their habit of going daily to the tanks to fetch water and for washing gives them opportunity for gossip and searching of reputations which is seldom lost and often produces a bitter fruit. The religious creed of both men and women is most crude and ill formed, at best a tangled tissue of mythological fable. Such worship as is not vicarious, is fetish and deprecatory is its object. Women especially, probably from their greater ignorance, and restrained condition of life, are disposed to attribute even common incidents to the agency of invisible beings. There are for them jungle spirits, and river spirits, headless spirits, six-handed goddesses, ghosts, goblins, and in some parts of Bengal witchcraft is firmly believed in. An old woman with uneven eyes is certain to be looked upon as a witch, and children are carefully prevented from appearing before such a one. Girls perform *broto*s with the purpose of averting future ills. Astrology, half science, half faith, grows out of these elements and has its professors in nearly every considerable village. Signs of prognostication are carefully sought for, and bear each an assigned importance. For instance, sneezing is generally inauspicious. The ticking sound of the lizard is a deterring omen. When certain stars rule, the women of a family will not leave the house. Women will hesitate to cross a stream of water the day before that fixed for the performance of a *shraddh*. In short, their down-

sittings, and uprisings, walking, sleeping, eating, drinking may be said to be subject to the arbitrary control of spiritual agencies; and a numerous body of Astrologers finds employment and a not despicable means of living, in the interpretation of the phenomena, by which these supernatural governors allow their will or intention to be discovered.*

The plot of ground on which the homestead stands and the small surrounding compound which goes with it, is hired of a superior holder. A common rent is Rs. 1, 1-4, 1-8 per annum for the homestead plot, and somewhat less for the attached piece. The buildings, however, which constitute the homestead, are usually constructed by the tenant and belong to him. Should he move to another place, he may take away the materials or sell them. This is one reason why mud, mat and bamboo dwellings are the rule and *palka* (brick built) houses the exception. The largest mat hut of a homestead will cost from Rs. 30 to 50 to build entirely anew. The *chulha* or cooking stove is made, of mud, by the women. The *dao* or bill-hook, which as tool is the Bengali's very jack-of-all-trades, is got from the village blacksmith for a few annas. The plough handle of the cultivator is prepared almost for nothing by the ryot himself, perhaps with the assistance of the village carpenter, and its toe is shod with iron by the village blacksmith for one rupee.† An average pair of bullocks may be obtained for Rs. 20, and the price of the few earthenpots and pans, of various sorts, which constitute the necessary utensils for household purposes, may be reckoned in pice.

From such facts as these an idea may be formed of the exceedingly scanty dimensions of the ordinary villager's accumulated capital; and, too often of this, even a large proportion merely represents a debt due to the *mukdjan*. The extreme poverty of, by far the largest portion, i.e., the bulk of the population in Bengal (the richest part of India) is seldom rightly apprehended

rice which admits of life, and a certain low type of health being

* To make a pilgrimage to some one of certain very holy places, and if possible to spend the last days of life there; or at least to die on the banks of holy Ganges is the cherished desire of every one, male or female, rich or poor.

† The plough is a most simple wooden tool without any iron about it except the pointed ferule at the toe. In shape it closely resembles

a slim anchor; one claw goes into the ground at such an inclination that the other is nearly vertical, and serves as a handle for the ploughman: the *shauk* is the plough beam to which the bullocks are attached. There is no share point or breast; the pointed end only turns the earth, it does not turn it. The whole is so light that a man easily carries it over his shoulder.

maintained on a minimum of means. Seven rupees a month is a sufficient income wherewith to support a whole family. Food is the principal item of expense, and probably one rupee eight annas a month will in most parts of Bengal suffice to feed an adult man and twelve annas a woman even in a well-to-do establishment. Such of the villagers as are cultivators generally have sufficient rice of their own growth for the house consumption; the little cash which they require is the produce of the sale of the *Rubbee* (cold weather) crops. The other villagers buy their rice unhusked (*paddy*) from time to time in small quantities, and all alike get their salt, tobacco (if they do not grow this), *gurh*, oil, *masala*, almost daily at the general dealer's (*modi*) shop. Purchases in money value so small as these, namely, the daily purchases of the curry spices needed by one whose whole subsistence for a month is covered by one rupee eight annas obviously calls for a diminutive coin. The pice or $\frac{1}{4}$ part of an anna which is the lowest piece struck by the Mint is not sufficiently small, and cowries at the rate of about 5120 to the rupee are universally employed to supplement the currency.

The *modi*'s shop is a conspicuous feature in the village. In a large village there will be three or four of them, each placed in a more or less advantageous position, relative to the village paths, such as at a point where two or more thoroughfares meet, in a comparatively open situation, or in the neighbourhood of the place where the weekly or bi-weekly *hât* is held. The shop (in eastern Bengal) is most commonly a bamboo and mat hut, sometimes the front one so to speak of the homestead set, sometimes standing singly. To open shop, the mat side next the path or road way is either removed altogether or swung up round its upper edge as a hinge, and supported on a bamboo post, pent house fashion. The wares then stand exhibited according to their character, seeds and spices in earthen or wooden platters on the front edge of the low counter which the raised floor forms, caked palm sugar (*gurh*), mustard and other oils, salt, rice in various stages of preparation in somewhat large open mouthed vessels set a little further behind, and quite in the rear broad sacks of unhusked rice or *paddy* (*dâna*); on the side walls are hung the tiny paper kites which the Bengali, child and man alike, is so fond of flying, all sizes of kite reels, coarse twines, rude and primitive pictures, charms, &c., while the vendor himself squats cross-legged in the midst of his stores or sits on a *morhâ* outside. The liquid articles are served out with a ladle, the bowl of which is a piece of cocoanut shell, and the handle a small sized bamboo spline, and are meted out by the aid of a measure which is made by cutting off a piece of bamboo cane above a knot. The seeds, and so on, are taken out with the hand or bamboo spoon, and weighed in very rude wooden scales. Occasion.

ally when the *modi* does business in a large way, the hut which constitutes his shop may be big enough to admit the purchaser, and then the articles will be piled on roughly formed tables or benches. If the sale of cloths, piecegoods, be added to the usual *modi's* business, a separate side of the hut furnished with a low *takhtaposh* is generally set apart for this purpose. The *modi* then becomes more properly a *mahājūn*, and the bamboo hut will usually be replaced by a *pukka* brick built room.

A market or *hāt* is held in most villages twice a week. The market-place is ~~nothing~~ more than a tolerably open part of the elevated village side.* If one or two large pīpal trees overshadow it, so much the better, but it is rare that any artificial structures in the way of stalls exist for the protection of the sellers and their goods; when they do so, they are simply long narrow lines of low shed roofs covering a raised floor, and supported on bamboo posts, without side walls of any kind.

The *hāt* is a most important ingredient in the village life system. Here the producer brings his spare paddy, his mustard seed, his betelnuts, his sugarcane, his *gurh* treacle, his chillies, gourds, yams; the fisherman brings his fish, the ~~seedcrusher~~ his oils, the old widow her mats and other handy work, the potter his *gharas* and *gamlas*, the hawker his piecegoods, bangles, and so on; the town trader's agents and the local *modis* come to increase their stocks; the rural folks come to supply their petty wants; all alike assemble to exchange with one another the gossip and news of the day; and not a few stay to drink, for it must be known that this is an accomplishment which is by no means rare in India.* Each vendor sits cross-legged on the ground with his wares, set out around him, and for the privilege of this primitive stall he pays a certain small sum, or a contribution in kind, to the owner of the *hāt*, who is generally the proprietor, in the peculiarly Indian sense of zamindār, of the rest of the village land. The profits thus derived from a popular *hāt* are sufficiently considerable relative to ordinary rent to induce a singular competition in the matter on the part of neighbouring zamindārs; each will

* See paper of Babu Rajendra Lala Mitra in Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1873, Part 2, No. 1.

† The characteristic of Muhammadan architecture in India is the hemispherical dome roof. This requires a base of equal dimensions as to length and breadth, and therefore whenever an oblong span has to be roofed over the length of the oblong is made some multiple of its breadth, and is divided into the corresponding number of

squares by transverse rows of pillars or arches. The whole roof is then constructed of a succession of domes. In this way the long interior of a mosque becomes a series of compartments commonly three, open to each other between the pillars or under arches; and the village mat room which is to serve as a mosque is made to imitate this arrangement without independent purpose.

set up a *hāt*, and forbid his ryots (which may be sub-modo translated tenants) to go to the *hāt* of his rival. If orders to this effect failed of success, resort is sometimes had to force, and so it happens that the holding of *hāts* has become fraught with danger to the Queen's peace, and the legislature has found it necessary to give extraordinary preventive powers to the Magistrate.

If the village, or any substantial portion of it, is inhabited by Musalmāns, there will be a *masjid* (or mosque) in it. This may be a *pakka* (brick) building, if the community has at any time possessed a member zealous and rich enough to defray the cost of erecting it. More commonly it is of mat and bamboo. Almost always, of whatever material constructed, it exhibits one typical form, namely, a long narrow room (often in three more or less distinctly marked divisions) closed at each end, on one side, and having the other side entirely open to a sort of rectangular courtyard or inclosure.† The *mulla*, who officiates there may be a tradesman, or *modi*, gifted with a smattering of Arabic sufficient to enable him to read the Korān. He is in theory chosen by the *mahalla* (Muhammadan quarter) but practically the office is hereditary and is remunerated by small money payments made on occasions of marriages and other ceremonies.

In passing along a village path one may come upon a group of 10 or 20 almost naked children, squatting under a pipal tree near a homestead, or even under a thatched verandah appurtenant thereto, and engaged in marking letters on a plantain or palm leaf, or in doing sums on a broken piece of foreign slate or even on the smoothed ground before them. This is a *patshāla* or hedge school, the almost sole indigenous means of educating the rising generation which, by Government aid and otherwise, has under the English rule, been developed into a most potent instrument for the spread of primary instruction. It still in its original meagreness exists in most country villages, serving in an infinitesimal degree to meet the needs of an enormous class which the more efficient Europeanized schools as yet fail to reach. The instruction in these *patshālas* is given gratis, for it is contrary to an oriental's social and religious feelings of propriety that learning of any sort should be directly paid for. It is a heavenly gift to be communicated by God's chosen people, the Brahmins, originally to Brahmins and other twice-born classes only, but in these later days, with an extension of liberality not quite accounted for, to outside castes also, so far as regards reading and writing the vernacular, arithmetic and other small elements of secular knowledge sufficient for the purposes of zamindāri accounts. The instructor in a typical *patshāla* is an elderly Brahman dignified with the designation *Guru Muhasoy*; occasionally, however, he is a *modi* or small tradesman who manages concurrently with his business to keep

his eye on the group of urchins, squatting under the eaves of his shop-but. Although there is no regular pay for the duty, the instructor does not any more than other folks do his small work for nothing; on the occurrence of special events in his family the parents of his pupils make him a small present of rice or *dal*, or even a piece of cloth, and when a child achieves a marked stage in its progress, say the end of the alphabet, words of one syllable, &c., a similar recognition of the occasion is made. A Brahman *guru* will in addition get his share of the gifts to Brahmans which form so serious an item of expense in the celebration of the many festivals, and ceremonies obligatory on a well-to-do Bengali.

In parts of Bengal, noted for the cultivation of Sanskrit learning, such as Vikrampur and Naddea, something answering very remotely to an old-fashioned English Grammar School may now and then be met with. A turn of the village path will bring you to a *Tol*: there within a half open mat shed sit cross-legged on the raised mud floor ten or a dozen Brahman youths, decently clothed, with Sanskrit manuscripts on their laps. They are learning grammar from the wonderful work of that chief of all Grammarians Panini or more probably from Bopa Deva's book or are transcribing sacred rolls. Each remains some two or three or even more years at this very monotonous employment, until he is able to pass on to the home of deepest learning Nobodweep. A rude shelf of bamboo laths, carries a few rolls of Sanskrit manuscripts, and this is all the furniture of the *Tol*. The master of the *Tol* is a Brahman Pandit who in obedience to the Hindu principle, not only teaches but maintains his scholars. He is sometimes, though not often, a very learned man, if learning means knowledge of the Sanskrit language and of the peculiar philosophy enshrined in it: and he is always personally poor. His means of maintaining himself and his disciples are supplied in like manner as, though with fuller measure than, is the case with the *Guru Myhasoy*. The Pandit, who keeps a successful school, gets a Benjamin's share of presents at all ceremonies and feasts; and all the richer Hindus of the neighbourhood contribute to his needs. He spends the vacations, say about two months of the year, in travelling from house to house (of those worth a visit), throughout an extensive area; and though he seldom actually begs, his purpose is known and he never leaves a roof, without a honorarium of Re. 1 and Rs. 2, or even Rs. 20 according to the wealth of his host.

One poor homestead in a village may be occupied by two or three lone widows, who have been left desolate in their generation, without a member of their family to support them, and who have joined their lots together in order the better to eke out a miser-

able subsistence, and wretched creatures they are to the European eye, emaciated and haggard, with but little that can be called clothing. Yet somewhat coarsely garrulous, they seem contented enough and certainly manage by mat weaving and such like handy work, or when occasion offers by menial service, or perhaps oftener still by the aid of kindly gifts from neighbours, to gain a not altogether precarious subsistence.

And few villages are without one or more specimens of the Byragi, and his female companion, coarse licensed mendicants of a religious order, in whose homestead one of the huts will be a *thakurbári* of Krishna (an incarnation of Vishnu) whereat the members of the very numerous sect of Boistubs or Vaisnabas (Vishnubites) on certain festivals lay their offerings. The Byragi may be termed the religious minister of one of the sects, which owe their origin to the great reformer Chaitanya little more than three hundred years ago, or perhaps more correctly a member of an ascetic religious order. He has generally the reputation of leading a grossly sensual life, and his appearance does not always belie his reputation. This is an unfortunate outcome of the noble latitudinarianism, which first taught in India that all men without distinction of race, creed, sex or caste are equal before God.

The homestead of the *goala*, or cowman, of which there will be several in a village, is precisely of the same type as are those of his neighbours : and he is also a cultivator as most of them are. Probably the cowshed will be actually brought up to the *uthan* and fill one of the sides. The cows are tiny little animals often not more than 3 feet high and miserably thin. They are kept tethered, close side by side of each other in the open shed, and there fed with dried grass, wetted straw, and so on, except when under the care of a boy they are allowed to pick up what they can on the waste places about the village, and on the fallow *khéts*. The cowman and his cows are very important members of the village community, for all Hindus consume milk when they can afford to do so. After rice and pulse (*dál bhát*) it is the staple food of the people. Neither butter, as it exists in Europe, nor cheese seem to be known to the natives generally, although the art of making the latter was introduced by the Dutch, at their settlements such as Dacca, Bandel (Chinsurah), and is still practised there for the European market, and a crude form of butter, or as near an approximation thereto as the climate admits of, is also largely made for the richer natives and Europeans. This is commonly effected by first curdling the milk with an acid and then churning the curds. It is the business, however, of the *goala* not merely to sell milk in the raw state, but also to compound various preparations of it, thickened. One such preparation,

dahi is in consistency not very unlike a mass of thick clotted cream as it may sometimes be got in the west of England with all the fluid portion omitted or strained from it and is pleasant enough to the European taste. This appears to be a universal favourite and is daily hawked about from homestead to homestead by the *goalas* in earthen *gharas*, which are carried scale-fashion, or *bahangi* suspended from the two extremities of a bamboo across the shoulder.

The blacksmith's shop is a curious place of its kind, simply a thatched shed, with old iron and new, of small dimensions lying about in hopeless confusion. In the centre of the mud floor is a very small narrow anvil, close to the fireplace, which latter is nothing but a hole sunk in the ground. The nozzle of the bellows (an instrument of very primitive construction) is also let into the ground. The head smith, sitting on a low stool or on his heels, works the bellows by pulling a string with one hand while with a tongs in the other, he manipulates the iron in the fire, and then, still keeping his seat, turns to the anvil whereon with a small hammer in his right hand he performs the guiding part in fashioning the metal, and an assistant also squatting on his heels follows his lead with a larger hammer. The hammer heads are long, on one side only of the haft and unbalanced by any make-weight, and the anvil is exceedingly narrow; yet the blows are struck by both workmen with unerring precision. The villagers require but little in the shape of iron work. A few nails, the toes of the ploughs, *kodális* (cultivating hoes), *daos* answering to bill-hooks, the *bonti* of domestic and other use (fixed curved blade), constitute pretty nearly all their necessities in the way of iron articles. These are mostly made or repaired by the village blacksmith. His stock of iron is principally English hoop-iron, which is bought at the nearest town by him or for him, and which has come out to India in the shape of bands round the imported piecegood bales.

The professions are not altogether unrepresented in a Bengal village for you may, not seldom, meet the *kábiráj* or native doctor, a respectable looking gentleman of the Vaidya caste, proceeding with a gravity of demeanour befitting his vocation to some patient's homestead. If you can persuade him to open his stores to you, you will probably find him carrying wrapt up, as a tolerably large bundle (cover within cover) in the end of his *chadr*, a very great number of paper packets, resembling packets of flower seeds, each carefully numbered and labelled. These are his medicines almost all in the shape of pills and compounded after receipts of antiquity; many are excellent as specifics and there seems reason to think that English medical men might with advantage resort more often than they do to the native pharmacopœia. The *kábiráj*

does not charge by fees in the manner of European doctors, but makes a bargain beforehand in each case for the payment which he is to receive for specified treatment, say Re. 1 or Rs. 2 for the ordinary medicine with two or three visits in an obstinate case of malarious fever. In the event of cure, the patient often testifies his gratitude by making a present to his doctor.

The astrologer too, ought perhaps to be ranked in the professional class ; and he will be found in nearly every principal village. He is an Acharji (Lugu Acharji), but of a somewhat low class of Brahmans, whose business is to paint the *thākurs* (idols) and the various traditional representations of the deities ; also to tell fortunes and to interpret omens and signs of luck, or interpositions of providence ; to prepare horoscopes, and so on. Those, who do not succeed sufficiently in these higher branches of their craft, take to painting pictures in water colours with the view to their being used in the way of decoration, on occasions of the great ceremonies which are performed in the richer families. The Hindu artist does not appear to have obtained a knowledge of perspective and in these pictures it is seldom that any attempt is apparent to realize its effects. But outline and colour are remarkably well depicted on the flat. These men can be got to work many together on a given subject for a monthly pay of Rs. 20 or Rs. 30 according to the efficiency of the painter. But most commonly each prepares his pictures at leisure in his own house and presents them when finished to some rich person in the generally well founded expectation of receiving ample remuneration for his labour.

The worship of God which obtains among Muhammadans may be described as congregational and personal, while that among Hindus is domestic and vicarious. With the former, the *masjid*, public preaching, united prayer and adoration offered by individuals collected in heterogeneous assemblages or congregations are the characteristic features of the practice of religion. With the latter, the family idol (or representation of the deity), the daily service and worship of this idol performed by a priest for the family, and the periodic celebration of ceremonies in honour of that manifestation of the deity which the family adopts, as well as those for the benefit of deceased ancestors' souls, constitute its principal ingredients. Among wealthy Hindus, the hereditary spiritual guide, the hereditary *purohit*, and the service of the jewelled *thakur*, form, so to speak, the key-stone of the joint family structure : and the poor folks of a country village make the best shift they can to worship God under the like family system. Every respectable household, that can afford the small expense, has a rude *thakur* or image of its patron deity placed in a separate hut of the homestead, and a Brahman comes daily to perform its worship and service. As might be supposed, it is not worth the while of any but the lower caste

of and imperfectly educated Brahmans to pursue this vocation; so it generally happens that the village *purohīts* are an extremely ignorant set of men. In some districts they are mostly foreign to the village, coming there from a distance, they reside in it only for a few years then return home for an interval, providing a substitute or vicar during the period of their absence. These ministers of religion get their remuneration in the shape of offerings and small fees, and manage on the whole to earn a tolerably good livelihood by serving several families at a time. With other Brahmans they also come in for a share of the gifts which are distributed by wealthy men on the occasions of family ceremonies and festivals. In great measure the office of *purohit* is hereditary, and indeed strictly so in the case of families of social distinction and importance. These, as a rule, have besides the *purohit* more than one spiritual person employed exclusively for themselves. For there is the *guru* or spiritual instructor of the individual who gives him the *mantra*, and the higher class *purohit* who is the Acharji and conducts the periodic *pujah* festivals of the family, in addition to the ordinary *purohit* who performs the daily service of the *thakur*. Over and above the regular service of the *thakur* performed by the priest, there is also among Brahmans a manifestation of personal devotion on the part of the individual members of the family. It is right in Brahman families that each person should once or oftener in the day come before the image and say a Sanskrit prayer or recite a *mantra*.

The mass of the ryots who form the population of the village are too poor to have a family deity. They are forced to be content with the opportunities they have of forming part of the audience on the occasions of religious festivals celebrated by their richer neighbours, and the annual *pujahs* performed at the village *mandab* on behalf of the community.

II.—ZAMINDAR AND MAHAJAN.

Many other members of the village society than those already mentioned deserve description, such as the carpenter, the potter, the weaver, the fisherman, and so on. It might be told, too, how a woman, or an old man incapable of laborious exertion, will venture a rupee in the purchase from the *jalkardāla* of a basket of fish, from the *ryot*, of a bundle of chillies, &c., with the hope of earning a few pice by carrying this to the *hat* and there selling in retail; how the pithworker plies his occupation or how the widow makes her mats. And the *mandul*, the *chavkidār*, the barber, the washerman will probably hereafter have their respective places in the village economy pointed out. The general texture of the village material has, however, even now, been sufficiently represented, and to complete the outline of the little community it only

remains to sketch in the two most influential of its constituents, namely, the zamindár and the maháján.

Preliminary to describing the status of these persons, a few words more as to externals are necessary. It has already been said that the site of the loose aggregate of homesteads, which forms the Bengali village, is somewhat elevated above the general level of the cultivated plain, and presents a more or less wooded appearance when viewed from the outside, by reason of the pípál, mango, tamarind and other forest trees which usually shut in the several dwellings. This dwelling area, so to call it, is usually skirted by waste or common land of very irregular breadth and beyond this again comes the cultivated land of the open plain (*math*). Up to a certain boundary line (of immemorial origin but ordinarily well ascertained) all the land both waste and cultivated, reckoned from the village outwards, belongs to the village in a sense which will be afterwards explained. On the other side of the line, the land in like manner belongs to some other village. In parts of Bengal, where portions of the country are in a state of nature the limits of the village territory will include jungle and otherwise unappropriated land.

The village and its land (the entirety is termed a *mauzah*) in some respects affords considerable resemblance to an English parish and possibly the two may have had a certain community of origin, but there are differences enough in their present respective conditions to render it impossible to pass by analogy from the one to the other. Of course, both in the English parish and in the Indian *mauzah*, the principal business of the people is agriculture. But in England, now-a-days, the cultivation of the soil is not carried on under parochial rights, or in any degree subject to communistic principles. Every portion of the cultivatable area of the parish is cultivated by some one who either owns it himself as his property in the same sense as all other subjects of property are owned, or who hires it for cultivation from such an owner. In India, on the other hand, the land of the *mauzah* is cultivated in small patches by the resident ryots (or cultivators) of the village on payments of dues, according to the nature of the soil, and the purpose of cultivation, to a person who, relatively to the ryot, is termed the zamindár, viz., the landholder (not accurately landlord) of the *mauzah*. These dues are at this day universally denominated rent; but although they are most commonly variable and capable of adjustment from time to time, between the zamindár and the ryot, they do not correspond in all aspects to rent, and some confusion of idea is occasionally perceived to arise from careless use of this word.

To the English observer it is very remarkable at first to find that the land belonging to the village is, with

extreme minuteness of discrimination, classified according to characters attached to it by custom, and having relation to data which are not all concrete in kind, such as the prevailing water-level of the rainy season, the nature of the rent payable for it, the purpose to which it is put, the class of persons who may by custom occupy it, and so on. Thus we meet with :—

Sali—land wholly submerged during the period of the rains—of different grades.

Suna—not so—of different grades.

Nakdi—land for which rent is paid in cash per bîgah.

Bhaoli—land for which rent is paid in kind—part of the produce.

———land for which rent is paid in cash per crop per bîgah.

Bhiti—raised house-site land.

Khudkasht—land which the residents of the village are entitled to cultivate.

Pahikasht—land which outsiders may cultivate.

These characters or qualities adhere almost permanently to the same land, and there is for each village a recognized rate of rent (or *nirkh*) properly payable according to them. Also, when the occupation of the land, is, as commonly happens with the Sunaland, on an *uthbandi jamma* and the cultivation is by alternation of cropping and fallow, the ryot or cultivator only pays for so much of each sort of land, as he actually tills for the year. It is apparent then, that, generally speaking, the precise amount of payment to be made by the ryot to the zamîndâr in each year is a matter of some complexity of calculation.

Perhaps it should be here remarked that in most villages by far the larger portion of the land is Khudkasht. The ordinary state of things, then, is shortly this :—The open lands of the village are divided up among the resident ryots in small allotments (so to speak), an allotment often consisting of several scattered pieces and generally comprehending land of various qualities as above defined—it rarely exceeds 10 acres in the whole and is often much less—and the payment of rent by each ryot to the zamîndâr is made on a shifting scale, depending upon more or less of the elements just mentioned.

Putting aside all questions of right on the part of the cultivator to occupy and till the land of the village we have it as a matter of fact that the Bengal ryot is little disposed to move, and that for generation after generation, from father to son, the same plots of land (or approximately so) remain in the hands of the same family.

After this preface, part of it in some degree repetition, we are in a situation to take a view of the zamîndâr, considered as a personage of the village. It will be convenient to speak as if there were but one such person for a whole village. This is not strictly true as regards the ryot or rent payer, and will be qualified by explana-

tion hereafter. But it is the simplest form of the actual case and the normal idea of a zamíndár is best arrived at by conceiving that a *mauzah* is the smallest unit in his holding—that the *zamíndári* is an aggregate of many entire *mauzahs*.

Now when it is remembered how small is the quantity of land tilled by each ryot, that he pays for different portions of this at different rates, that the quantity of the land of each sort or the nature of the crop, according to which he pays varies from year to year, and that the total year's rent is generally paid in three or four *kists*, or instalments, it will be seen, that the business of collecting the rents of a Bengal *mauzah* is a very different thing from the work which is done by a landlord's agent in England, and that it can only be carried on through the means of an organized staff. This staff is commonly called, both individually and collectively, the zamíndár's, or *zamíndári amla*. It usually consists of a *Tehsildár*, *Patwári*, *Gomashita* and *peons* or similar officers under different names, varying with the district. The *Tehsildár* is the collector of the rents and if the *zamíndári* is large, one *Tehsildár* will collect from three or four *mauzahs*.

There is generally a *Tehsildár's kachahri* in each *mauzah* or village, it is the office where the *zamíndári* books and papers relative to the village collections are made up and kept; sometimes a verandah shed hut of mat and bamboo serves the purpose of the *kachahri* sometimes it is a *pukka* house of brick with sufficient accommodation to enable even the *zamíndár* to pass a few days there when he resides elsewhere than in the village and is minded to visit it. Book-keeping is an art, which Hindus seem to carry almost to an absurd extent of detail, and it would be tedious to describe all the books which are kept in due course of the *kachahri* business. It will be sufficient to mention the principal among them; these are, first, three or four books bearing the denomination of the *chuttah*, which amount in effect to a numbered register in various ways and in minute detail of all the 'small *dags*, or plots into which the village lands are divided, the measurement of each, its situation, the quality of the land, the ryot who cultivates it, and so on, the last of them being the *khatiyán* or ledger which gives under each man's name all the different portions of land held by him with their respective characteristics. The *jamma bandi* is a sort of assessment paper made up for each year, with the view to showing for every ryot, as against each portion of the land held by him, the rate at which it is held, according to quality or crop and also to exhibiting the total amount which in this way becomes due from him, and the *kists* in which it is to be paid: and the *jamma-wasil-baki* is an account prepared after the expiration of the year, repeating the principal statements of the *jamma*

banqi as to the amounts which had become due, and then giving the payments which had actually been made, together with the arrears. A Bengali account book is formed by sewing together with a cord any number of very long narrow loose sheets at one of their ends, and when it is closed the free ends of the sheets are folded back upon the ends which are thus bound. When it is open the bound end rests upon the reader's arm, the upper leaves are thrown back and the writing then runs from the free end of one page down, through the cincture, to the free end of the next. In this way a total page of portentous length is possible and some *jamma-bandis* take advantage of this property to the utmost.

The *Gomashita* and *Patwari*, or similar officers, by whatever name they may be called in the different districts, are charged with the duty of keeping up the *kacharhi*-books according to the varying circumstances of the ryots' holdings; and for this purpose have to keep a sharp eye throughout the year upon the ryots' doings. It will be seen at once that persons charged with the functions of these *zamindari amla* have much temptation to use the opportunities of their situation to their own advantage. As a rule they are of the same class as the village-ryots; and are themselves cultivators. It is not, therefore, matter of surprise, when it happens, as it often does, that the plots which are in their hands, are the best in the village. Their proper work prevents them from actually labouring in the fields, and they are supposed to pay those of the other ryots who till the soil for them, but it is too frequently the case that they manage somehow to get this done gratis. And they are by no means ignorant of the art of obtaining the offer of gratifications when they require them. The office is in a sense hereditary, viz., the son generally succeeds the father in it. But this is almost a necessity, for it is seldom the case that more than one or two others in the village possess the small knowledge of reading, writing and account keeping which is needed for the work.

Indeed the ryots are universally uneducated and ignorant, and in an extreme degree susceptible to the influence of authority. The relation between them and the zamindar is eminently feudal in its character. He is their superior lord and they are his subjects (ryots), both by habit and by feeling "*adscripti glebæ*." They would be entirely at the mercy of the zamindar and his *amla* were it not for another most remarkable village institution, namely, the *mandal*;* this is the village headman, the mouthpiece and representative of the ryots of the village in all matters between them and the zamindar or his officers. The *mandal* is a cultivator like the rest of the ryots, and by no means necessarily the richest.

* This is his most common designation. The name, however, varies with districts.

among them. He holds his position in some supposed manner dependent upon their suffrages, but the office in fact almost invariably passes from father to son, and so is hereditary for the same reason that all occupations and employments in India are hereditary. His qualifications are sufficient knowledge of reading, writing and *zamindari* accounts, and thorough acquaintance with the customary rights of the villagers. He receives no emolument directly, but the other ryots will generally from time to time help him gratuitously in his cultivation, and it is not unfrequently the case that he pays a less rate of rent for his land than the ordinary occupying ryot does. It is impossible thoroughly to describe the *mandal's* functions in a few sentences. He is so completely recognized as the spokesman of the ryots, one and all, on every occasion that it is often exceedingly difficult to extract, in his absence, from an individual ryot information upon even the commonest and most indifferent matter. The *mandal* and a few of the elder men constitute the village *panchayat*, by whom most of the ordinary disputes and quarrels are adjusted. In more obstinate cases the *mandal* and the parties go to the *zamindár*, or his representative the *naib* or *gomashta*, for discussion and arbitration. Thus very much of the administration of justice in the rural districts of Bengal is effected without the need of recourse to the formal and expensive machinery of the public courts.

When the village is one in which the *zamindár* resides, it will often be the case that the barber who shaves the members of his family, the *dhobi* who washes for them, the head *'darván* (or porter) and other principal servants, all hereditary, hold their portion of the village land at relatively low rents or even rent free, in consideration of their services. In addition to this the *dhobi* and the barber, for instance, have the right to be employed at customary rates of pay by all the ryots. Sometimes the carpenter and the blacksmith are in the like situation. There is also a hereditary village *chaukidar* (or watchman) who gets his land rent free. And the Brahman priest whether of the *zamindár's* family, or maintained for the village *pujahs*, &c., is supported in the same mode.

We have thus before us, in the Bengal village community, a social structure which for want of a better term must be called feudal. The principal features may be summed up as follows:—At the bottom is the great mass of hereditary cultivators of the village lands (ryots); at the top the superior lord entitled to rents and dues from these cultivators (*zamindár*); next to him and connected with his interests come those who constitute his fiscal organization (*amlá*) and his privileged servants; on the other side again are the representative and officers of the village, and by the union of both elements, so to speak

is formed a court leet which disposes of all topics of internal friction by the authoritative declaration of custom and usage.

Outside this system, with no recognized place in it, yet nevertheless the motive power by which it is kept working is the *mahajan*, or village capitalist. The Bengal ryot, except only a fraction of the whole class, has no accumulated wealth—no pecuniary means other than what his own labour on the land can earn for him. He carries on a business, however, which from time to time and periodically requires outlay of money. There is a hut of the homestead to be new built or repaired, a plough or other implement to be made, a pair of bullocks to be bought, seed for sowing to be procured, above all rice to be got for the food of himself and his family, and also several *kists* of his rent to be paid before all his crops can be secured and realized. Alone and unaided, he is almost invariably unable to meet all these current demands. In the western part of the Delta, his savings are seldom sufficient to tide him wholly over the time which must elapse before the year's production comes in. To the *mahajan*, therefore, he is obliged to go for money and for *paddy* as he wants them. The commonest course of dealings between the parties is as follows:—The *paddy* for sowing and for food, and also other seed is provided upon the terms that it is to be returned together with a surplus of fifty per cent. in quantity at the time of harvest; and the money is advanced upon condition of being repaid, also at harvest time, with two per cent. per mensem interest either in the shape of an equivalent of *paddy*, reckoned at bazar prices, or in cash at the option of the lender. As security for the due carrying out of this arrangement the *mahajan* frequently takes an hypothecation of the ryot's future crop, and helps himself to the stipulated amount on the very threshing floor, in the open field.

The actual result of this state of things is, at least, curious to the eye of the European observer. The zamindár, who at first sight appears to fill the place of an English landlord, is merely a rent charger; the ryot, who seems to have a beneficial interest of a more or less permanent nature in his allotments is scarcely more than a field labourer, living from hand to mouth; and the *mahajan*, who, in effect, furnishes the farming capital, pays the labour and takes all the profits, is a stranger, having no proprietary interest in the land. He is a creditor only, whose sole object is to realize his money as advantageously as possible. After setting aside in his *golas* as much of the produce come to his hands as he is likely to need for his next year's business advances in kind, he deals with the rest simply as a corn-factor, sending it to the most remunerative market. A thriving *mahajan* may have a whole *mauzah*, or even more under his hand, and yet he has

no legitimate proprietary status in the community, while those who have, namely, the ryot on one hand and the zamindár on the other for different reasons are apparently powerless. The consequent unprogressive character of an agricultural village cannot be more graphically described than by the words of an intelligent young zamindár :—*

"A husbandman of the present day is the primitive being he always has been with a piece of rag round his loins for his clothing, bare feet, a miserable hut to live in, and a daily fare of the coarsest description, he lives a life which, however disturbed it may be by other causes, is unruffled by ambition. If he gets his two meals and plain clothing he is content with his lot, and if he can spare a few rupees for purchasing jewelry for his wife and children, and a few rupees more for religious ceremonies he will consider himself as happy as he can wish to be. He is the greatest enemy of social reform and never dreams of throwing off any of the trammels, which time or superstition has spun around him. He will not send his son to school for fear of being deprived of his manual assistance in the field; he will not drink the water of a good tank because he has been accustomed to use the water of the one nearer his house; he will not sow a crop of potatoes or sugarcane because his forefathers never did it; he will allow himself to be unmercifully fleeced by his hereditary priest to secure the hope of utter annihilation after death, but he will not listen to any proposal which would place within his reach a few of the conveniences or comforts of life. There are agricultural villages in which the existence of a school or of a dispensary, and the condition of the houses, roads and tanks show a happier state of things, but it will be found that in almost all such cases, the improvements have been made not by the ryots, but by a rich tradesman, employer or landholder who resides in the village of takes an interest in its welfare. The ryots themselves are too poor, too ignorant, too disunited among themselves to effect any such improvement."

III.—DOMESTIC LIFE.

And more than one cause occurs to limit the activity of zamindárs in this matter to very few instances. It is sufficient for the moment to say that wealthy, enterprising zamindárs are very rare in the Mofussil. The Hindu gentleman of the Bengali village, the landed proprietor, so to speak, of the locality, may have an income of some Rs. 200 or Rs. 300 per annum at most. He may not always have even a *pakka* house. His property is probably a

* Babu Peary Chund Mookerjee, 4 vol., Beng. Sec. Soc. Trans. Sec. 4, p. 1.

share of the village or of several villages together held on some tenure, the general nature of which will be hereafter described, and his net income is that which remains of the collections made from the ryots, after he has paid the *jamma* of his tenure to the superior holder, or to the Government as the case may be. His life is a very quiet one, unmarked by the characteristics of either a very active or a very refined form of civilization. His daily routine may be sufficiently described without much difficulty. He gets up before sun rise, and if he be an orthodox Hindu, as he sits upon his bed, he utters in the place of a formal prayer the name of "Durga" several times in succession. Then he performs some slight ablutions. At this point the habits of Brahmans vary from those of other Hindus. The Brahman goes at once after these ablutions to bathe in the river, if there is one near at hand; if not, to the tank attached to his house or to the village tank. As he stands in the water and when he comes out, he repeats by way of prayer Sanskrit *mantras* which he does not understand. In any village situated on the bank of a river may be seen very early in the morning, men of the most respectable class and position returning home after bathing and muttering these *mantras* as they go. Men of respectability (*bhadralog*), however, who are not Brahmans, do not think it necessary to bathe so early or to say anything in the shape of prayer beyond the utterance of the name of Durga two or three times on rising from bed.

It used to be the practise for pious Hindus, in addition to this to write the name of Durga on a plantain leaf as many as two hundred or three hundred times every morning after the first washing, but this old custom has died out, except in, perhaps, a few excessively conservative families of Eastern Bengal, and now a days, the ordinary village proprietor of the higher class after his early ablutions, without further preliminary, takes his seat in his *baithakhāna* upon the *takhtaposh* (if, as is usually the case, there is one) which is generally covered with a white *chadā*. There he receives all, whom business or desire for gossip may bring to see him. His ryots who come sit at a little distance on the floor, while visitors of the *bhadralog* sit on the *takhtaposh* with the master of the house. Hukhas for smoking are offered to each one in turn, and for this purpose two hukhas are generally kept ready, one for Brahmans, the other for *kyasths*, &c., that for the use of Brahmans being distinguished by a cowrie hanging pendent from it by a string. Not to give a visitor the offer of a smoke would be considered as very uncourteous and rude.

The Bengal village gentleman generally transacts all his business in the morning, sitting in the way just described in his *baithakhāna* while his wife is simultaneously engaged in the kitchen. He will not take food before bathing, for to do so would be considered very

wrong. He remains in his *baithakhána* usually until about 11 or 11½ A.M., sometimes even later. Then when all his visitants are gone he causes his servant to bring oil and this he rubs all over his body and head as a preliminary to going to bathe.

When he returns from bathing, which will generally be about noon, he goes to the inner apartments (*andar mahál*) of the house, *i.e.*, to the portion of the house or homestead which is allotted to the female members of the family, and which strangers and non-privileged males are not allowed to enter. There, if he is orthodox and has "taken the *mantra*" from his family priest, he first performs *pújah*, and then has his breakfast brought. The servants of the house or the women of the family sweep the floor of the room or verandah where he usually takes his meals, and spread a square piece of carpet (*ashan*) or place a square wooden board for him to sit (cross-legged) upon. His food is served in a *thal** or on a stone platter by his wife, his children sit round him, and his mother comes and sits in front of him to see that everything is done as it should be; if his wife is young she seldom speaks to him in the presence of the mother, and if he has to ask for anything he does so generally through the mother. The breakfast commonly consists of rice as a principal item and in considerable quantity, some kind of *dál* (split pulse) a few vegetables separately prepared, one fish curry, sometimes also an acid curry taken after the ordinary curry, and lastly milk and sugar. The food is mostly conveyed from the platter to the mouth with the fingers of the right hand; the right hand alone can be used for this purpose, and no food may be touched with the left. Having finished eating, the master of the house washes his right hand and his mouth, receives a *pán* (betel leaf) prepared with spices by the women of the family for chewing, returns to his *baithakhána*, smokes his hukah and lies down to sleep for an hour or two during the hottest part of the day, namely from about 1 P.M. to 3 P.M.

About 3 P.M., his siesta over, he does whatever work of the morning he may have left unfinished, or goes out to see his neighbours or his ryots, returning shortly after dusk, when he takes some refreshment (*tiffin*) or lunch in the shape of sweet-meats. For the rest of the evening he sits in his *baithakhána*, conversing with friends and neighbours who may have come in, or plays games with cards or dice, or plays chess. In this manner he amuses himself and passes his time till dinner, or the last meal of the day, is announced about 10 P.M.: a female servant comes and says "rice is ready," and he goes for his dinner to the same place where he took his breakfast, and eats it in the

* A "thal" is a metal plate or dish.

same fashion. In fact, there is scarcely any difference between the morning meal and the night meal, either in regard to the food or to any other particular. The second is essentially a repetition of the first.

The women of the house always take their meals after the men have finished theirs; and all the members of the family retire to their sleeping quarters immediately after the night meal.

The foregoing is a brief outline of the every-day life of a Bengali village proprietor belonging to the gentleman's class who lives on an income of, say, from Rs. 200 to 500 a year derived from land. It should be added that the women of the family do a great deal of domestic work, such as cooking, pounding rice, fetching water, &c. Early in the morning they sprinkle water over the *uthan*, and proceed to clean the *thals* and the cups used the previous evening. Of such a family as that just described, the female members are not so secluded as the women of a similar family would be in a large town. In a Bengali village all the neighbours are allowed to see and speak with the women of the family (except the newly married *baus*, not belonging to the village) unless they are prevented by village relationship.

Domestic life in a cultivator's family is of course very different from that of the *bhadralog* just described. The exigencies of field labour, cattle-tending and poverty introduce very considerable disturbing causes. Still there are generic features of resemblance between the two. The women prepare the meals for the men, and these are eaten in the more private part of the homestead which answers to the inner apartments of the gentleman's *bâri*, also the women take their meals after the men have eaten. The food is almost exclusively rice, *dal*, and vegetable curries. Now and then fish is an ingredient in it, and occasionally milk. The front verandah of the principal hut of the homestead is the ryot's *bâithyakhâna*, and there after his day's work is done he will spread a mat for his neighbour and share with him his hubble-bubble. Or a village group will form under a convenient pipal tree, and smoke and gossip about the affairs of the *mauzah*.

It is the universal habit in Bengal, prevalent in all classes, for the members of a family to live and to enjoy the profits of property jointly. What this amounts to is by no means easy to describe in few sentences. To take the instance of a ryot's family, it grows joint somewhat in this fashion; namely, on the death of the father his sons, who before were dependent members of the family living in the same homestead and assisting him in the cultivation of his *jote*, henceforward continue, still in the same homestead, cultivating the same *jote*, but now in the capacity of owners. Sometimes they get their own names collectively substituted for that of their father in the books of the zamindâr's

kachahri; and sometimes the dead man's name is allowed to remain there unaltered. While thus situated each brother, with his wife and children, if possible, occupies a separate hut in the homestead and as often as is necessary for this purpose or when it can be afforded an additional hut is added to the group.

Also in this state of things, the brothers are by law entitled to equal shares by inheritance in the whole of the property which they have thus taken in common from their deceased father, and each has a right at any time to compel a partition. In the event of one of the brothers dying, his sons, if he has any, if he has none his widow, step into his place and represent him in all respects.

This sort of process carried on for several generations obviously would bring about a very complex distribution of undivided shares; but in the case of ryots it very speedily comes to an end by reason of the smallness of the original subject rendering the aliquot parts insignificant. Before that stage is reached the younger members of the family give up or sell their shares to the others and find occupation elsewhere as best they can. When the *jote* is inheritable in its nature the members of the family while living in the same homestead will actually divide the land among themselves according to their shares and cultivate separately. In this way, the land in some villages has come to be sub-divided into absurdly small plots and this evil has a natural tendency to increase rather than diminish.

When the family is well off and has considerable possessions, as well, it may be, in the way of trade, as in the shape of zamindaris and other lauded tenures, the state of "jointness" commonly long remains. The whole property is managed by one member of the family who is called the "karta" and who is usually the eldest individual of the eldest branch. He is theoretically responsible in a certain vague way to the entire body of joint co-sharers each of whom can, if he likes, see the family books of account and papers which are regularly kept in a sort of office (or *daftar-khāna*) by the family servants; but as a matter of fact it is seldom that any one interferes until some occasion of quarrel arises and is fought out with acrimony, a partition effected and accounts insisted upon. Events of this kind happen from time to time, with ultimate wholesome effect, but as a rule the co-sharers are only too willing to let well alone, content to be supported in the family house, out of the family funds, without asking any questions, each getting as he wants sufficient small sums of money for ordinary personal expenses. This constitutes the enjoyment of the joint family property by the joint family. Whatever money is saved, after the disbursement of the general family and proprietary expenses is invested by the *karta* in the purchase of some addition to the joint property;

and whatever money is required for the performances of extraordinary family ceremonies or religious performances is commonly raised by the *karta* in the form of a loan charged on the joint property. The family proprietary body is thus a sort of corporation the ostensible head of which is the *karta*, and in which the individual members have acquired no proprietary rights as distinct from those of the whole body except the right on the part of each co-sharer to separate at any moment and have his aliquot share of the common property divided off and given to him.

The domestic community which in this system of living, grows up, under, so to speak, the same roof-tree, is curiously heterogeneous and sometimes very numerous. There are, first, the co-sharers; these are brothers, nephews, and male cousins whose fathers' shares have devolved upon them and the widows or daughters of co-sharers, who have died without leaving sons or grandsons; and secondly there is the mixed class of dependent members made up of the wives and children of existing co-shares, the wives and daughters of former co-sharers (whose shares went to sons), and individuals labouring under any such infirmity as disqualifies them from inheriting. Instances occur in Calcutta and possibly even in the Mofussil, of families, comprehending as many as 300 or 400 individuals including servants living in one house; and it is probably usual for a family to amount to something between 50 and 100.

The Bengali's house is everywhere, whether in town or in the country village and whether large or small, of one typical form, specially adapted to the needs of joint family life; its principal elements are apparent even in the homestead of the smallest ryot. That of an old family may be described as follows:—The building is of brick, and two-storied, that is, it has a ground floor and a first floor; the term "upper-roomed house" always designates a house which ranks above the ordinary run of respectability. The front is generally long, exhibiting a pillared verandah or a row of French casement and jillmilled windows on the first floor. The entrance is by an archway, or large square headed door in the centre of the front; and in the entrance passage, often on both sides of it is a raised floor with one or two open cells in which the *darwāns* (or door keepers) sit, lie and sleep—in fact dwell. This is the *deorhi* and answers in some degree to the conciergerie of French houses. The entrance passage on the inside opens upon a quadrangle which may or may not be complete. On the quadrangle side, the house is generally faced all round by a two-storied pillared verandah which serves as a passage for each floor, and gives access to the different rooms; the upper verandah is reached from the lower by a narrow winding staircase of steep brick-built steps usually situated at the corners and very closely

resembling the turret stairs of an English country church. From outside to inside the breadth of the house is always very narrow, and as the rooms are less than the full width by the width of the verandah, they are also necessarily narrow; sometimes, however, they are found of considerable length. On one side of the quadrangle is the *pukah dalam*. This may be described as being the verandah of the other sides very much enlarged and deepened. It is approached from the central area by a flight of steps, which cover in breadth nearly the whole length of the side, and its lofty ceiling is supported by inner pillars additional to those which stand in the place of the ordinary verandah pillars. Its chief purpose is to serve as a stage for the performance of religious and domestic ceremonies on special occasions, the quadrangular area then affording convenient space for the general audience of dependents and invited guests; and the women of the house, themselves unseen finding gazing places in the upper windows and verandah. At these times the quadrangle is commonly covered in by a *shamiana* stretched across the top from side to side. In this manner a magnificent reception hall or theatre can be constructed in almost every native gentleman's house at the shortest notice.

Besides this first quadrangle, there is often in large houses, a second or a third quadrangle, and even more, the one behind or annexed to the other, much as is the case in our Colleges at Oxford or Cambridge. Then, too, there is the *thakurbári* or chamber, where the figure of the family deity resides and where the daily service or worship of the *thakur* is performed by the inferior family priest. Among Brahmans, and also *kulin* *kuists*, who are now-a-days privileged to receive the *mantra*, the father and mother of any branch of the family may, for some purposes, each have his or her private personal *thakur* quite apart from the family *thakur*. But neither a *kaist* nor even a Brahman woman can themselves worship the family idol or any visible *thakur*, except the clay figure of *Siva* which is made for every day worship. They must make their daily *puja* and utter *mantras* apart from any idol.*

It is by no means easy to describe the mode in which a large family distributes itself over a house such as that just now sketched. If the stage which the family has reached is three or four generations removed from the common ancestor, there will be several heads of branches; and these branches will settle themselves per stirpes, so to speak, in separate parts of the house under their own heads, more or less separate from the rest. Sometimes this separation is so complete that the portion of the house allotted to each branch is parted off from the remainder of the house by such

* The Shastrias forbid to women and Sudras all knowledge and use of sacred texts.

blocking up of doors as may be necessary for the purpose and by the opening of a separate entrance. Each group as a rule messes by itself, and every adult member of it has a room to himself in which he lives, all the female members together finding accommodation of some sort in the inner apartments, *i.e.*, the portion of the dwelling house which is allotted to the females, and commonly with Europeans called the *zenána*. All the branches usually keep joint with regard to the worship of the family deity. And even when the different branches have gone so far as to sever in everything, *i.e.*, in food, worship and estate, as the phrase is, the same family deity is commonly retained by all, and the worship of it conducted by the different separated branches in turns, each turn proportionate in duration to the owner's share in the joint property. For instance if the family in its divided state were represented by four heads, namely, two brothers and their two nephews, sons of a third brother deceased, the turns or *pallas* of worship would be four months, four months, two months, and two months or equimultiples of these.

It is, of course, only in Calcutta or other very large towns that the family swarm continues in the family live at such dimensions as those just mentioned. But in the few country villages where the zamíndár's family has been fortunate enough to maintain itself for many generations, much about the same thing occurs. There will be the brick built, quadrangled, house with imposing front, sheltering under one connected roof many families of cousins who bear to each other varying degrees of relationship and constitute in the whole a joint family, all the adult independent members of which have their own joint (but separable) coparcenary interest in the property of the family, whatever that be. The *karta* of this family (generally by the nature of the case, the senior member) is in most respects the ostensible head and although in the village all of the others are "the babus," yet he is especially the "babu" to whose activity such good work, when it is done, as the maintenance of a dispensary, the support of the *mandir* and its priest and the keeping the *mandap* in good condition is to be attributed.

• IV.—GRAVE AND GAY.

Amusements do not appear to occupy any great portion of life in a Bengali village. Although the circumstances of agricultural labour are such as to leave the ryot in comparative idleness for the greater part of the year, the truth seems to be that, for generations, the rural population has been a pauper, under-fed class, and does not possess the vigour and excess vitality which, in the case of the Burmese, overflows in vivacious games and athletic sports. Bright, hearty, healthy play of a boisterous

character is seldom or never to be met with among the children. Gymnastics, however, of undoubted indigenous origin, is, in some places, a great favorite and very successfully pursued, and there are parts of Bengal in which the boys have even laid hold of cricket. Nevertheless, all Bengalis are possessed with an inordinate love of spectacles and shows of every kind. The Hindus flock as readily to the public religious processions and displays of the Muhammadans as to their own, and *vice versâ*. The Muhammadans find occasions for these at the Muharram and some other periodic commemorations of events in the lives of the Prophet and his chief apostles. And the Hindus have their village *pujaks*, which are celebrated with more or less show and magnificence according to the wealth and public spiritedness of the local zamindâr. Then there are from time to time family festivals and ceremonies already spoken of at the houses of the better-to-do folks, such as marriages, shraddas, readings of the Râmâyana, &c.

The Bengali ryot is not often in a hurry. He dearly loves an opportunity for a bit of gossip and the hubble-bubble, and the evening groups under the *pîpal* tree are usually the wholesome substitutes for the *tari* shop. Drinking does, however, obtain to a considerable extent among the lower castes, and is said to be increasing. Native writers are fond of attributing the introduction of this vice or, at any rate, its encouragement in some way to the English, but there can be no real doubt that it is a natural product of the country itself.* In a portion of the Veds the delights of intoxication are dwelt upon, and some of the *tantric* writings are devoted to the encouragement of drink. The habit of drinking appears to have been so mischievously prevalent in the best days of the Muhammadan rule as to have called for repeated prohibitive legislation. And, indeed, the spirit which is everywhere drunk, namely *tari*, is evidently of purely home origin, and is made largely in every village by crude native methods from many sorts of saccharine juices, especially from the juice of the *tari* palm.

Gambling has great charms to the Bengali of all ranks, and some very amusing modes of applying the element of chance are in vogue. But gambling with cards and dice is the common form prevalent with the middle classes.

To describe fully the religious aspect of a Bengal village community would be a very long and difficult task—a task, indeed, which a foreigner could hardly carry through with success. A few of its more conspicuous features may, however, be pointed out without much risk of error. The Muhammadans exhibit two very distinct sects in Bengal, namely, the Sunnis and the Shîas. Both seem to be a good deal given to observances and practices of Hinduism ;

* Journal of Asiatic Society for 1873, Part I., No. 1, before referred to.

and it is pretty clear that the Bengali Musalmán is as a rule nothing but a roughly converted Hindu. He is generally quite undistinguishable from the ordinary Hindu in all race characteristics, and retains very marked caste notions and habits. In the best and most fertile parts of the delta the Muhammadan element exceeds 60 per cent. of the population, and in the rest of Bengal Proper it rises as high as 30 or 40 per cent. In some districts the agricultural villages are either wholly Muhammadan or wholly Hindu, but more commonly each village has its Muhammadan quarter and its Hindu quarter.

Hinduism also has its sects quite apart from its castes, though a marked distinction of sect is apt in the end to become synonymous with distinction of caste. The peculiarity of Hinduism, which has been already spoken of, namely, its want of the congregational element, seems to favour the growth of sects. At any rate, no one appears to care much what particular form of faith his neighbour professes, as long as it is not of an aggressive character. It may look like making an exception to say that Christians are a good deal objected to in an agricultural village; but this is mainly for two reasons,—i.e., 1st, because it is generally supposed to be of the essence of Christianity to work actively towards the subversion of Hinduism; 2ndly, because Christian ryots backed by the support (by no means always judiciously given) which they obtain from European missionaries are apt to be a very contumacious unaccommodating sect of people.

We find pretty universally in the rural villages, Boistobs, Sak-tas, Sivas, Garapatyas, &c. Of Boistobs there are an immense number of varieties or sub-divisions. Their chief distinguishing tenet seems to be that Vishnu is the Brahma: that he existed before all worlds, and was the cause and creator of all. They endue him with the highest moral attributes, and they believe that, besides his more exalted form as creator of all things, he has at different times and for the benefit of his creatures assumed particular forms and appearances. The best known and most celebrated of these is Krishna; whose bright and frolicsome, and, indeed, somewhat sensual career of adventure on earth is a very fascinating topic of contemplation to his votaries.* The chief development of the Boistobs, originated with Chaitanya, who preached purity, meditation, and the equality of all men, without distinction of sect or caste, before God. He threw aside all ceremonies and outward symbols. And a certain freedom from caste trammels and disregard of religious observances, with an appreciation of the importance of conduct still seem to characterise the sect. The Boistobs have been, and even now are being, recruited from all

* It is perhaps noteworthy that a notion that our Christ is none other than their Krishna.

castes, but taken together in all their varieties they are commonly reckoned as a sort of caste by themselves. Their especially ascetic members go by the designation of Bairagi (amongst others), and live a life of mendicancy and freedom which, as has been already mentioned, is not always altogether reputable.

The Saktas, perhaps, constitute the majority of the inhabitants of the villages. They have come to be in a great degree united with the Saivas. These latter look upon Siva (the destroyer) as the primary and more exalted form of Brahma, and the Saktas especially contemplate and worship the divine nature in its activity, in other words, the female forms of the supreme deity, as Durga and Kālī. The Sivaite and Sakta worship is in a marked degree a worship of dogma, of gorgeous ceremony, and bloody sacrifices. The Saktas consider themselves conservative of the purer and Puranic type of religion. Like the Pharisees of Judea, they are strict in small observances with regard to food, meals, perhaps even to the neglect of the larger precepts of the law. It was against this system and its abuses that Chaitanya lifted up his voice, and that the Boistobs are the protestants; but the older faith still appeals the most successfully to the passions of men, and with its vicarious helps to acceptance with God still holds sway with the masses of the people.

The Ganapatyas hardly, perhaps, deserve to be called a distinct sect. They particularly seek the protection of Ganesa, and devote themselves to his worship, but apart from this they may belong to almost any sect of Hinduism.

The mention of these different sects of Hinduism leads naturally up to a description of a very remarkable institution, which, although it does not by any means find illustration in every village of Bengal, yet is very common in certain parts of the presidency. In most of the sects there is (as it may be termed) a clerical class, which is itself separated into two orders, namely, to use European designations, the monastic (or ascetic) and the secular. The monastic order is celibate and in a great degree erratic and mendicant, but has anchorage places and head-quarters in the *maths*. The original meaning of the word *math* seems to be cell or chamber, as of a hermit. Now-a-days the typical *math* consists of an endowd temple or shrine, with a dwelling-place for a superior (the Mohant) and his disciples (*chelas*). The endowment of a *math* is either the result of private dedication, or it is a grant made by an already existing wealthy *math*. In the latter case the new institution becomes an off-shoot of the old, and remains allied with it in some sort of subordination. The property is not generally very large; though in exceptional cases it is so, and in some *maths* the Mohants either by decline from the strict path of sanctity originally marked out

for them, or even in prosecution of the founder's purpose, make the acquirement of wealth by trade their great object. Instances of this are most plentiful in the north-western parts of this presidency, where numerous trader Mohants of great wealth and influence are to be found.

As a rule, the Mohant, when he devoted himself to the ascetic form of religious life, *ipso facto*, severed himself from all such worldly possessions as he might otherwise have been entitled to as an ordinary member of society. He became theoretically dead to the world, and incapable of holding or inheriting property generally. But with regard to the property of the *math* or Mohantship it is different. The Hindu law recognizes a special devolution of the property belonging to a *math* upon the occurrence of the death of the Mohant.* A certain precept in the writings of the sages to the effect, that the virtuous pupil takes the property, is the foundation of the different rules observed in the different cases. The variation is in the manner in which the virtuous pupil is ascertained. There are instances of *maths* in which the Mohantship descends to a personal heir of the deceased; and others in which the existing Mohant appoints his successor. But the ordinary rule is, that the *maths* of the same sect in a district are associated together, the Mohants of these acknowledging one of their number, who is for some cause pre-eminent, as their head, and on the occasion of the death of one, the others of the associated body assemble to elect a successor out of the *chelas* (or disciples) of the deceased, if possible; or, if there be none of them qualified, then from the *chelas* of another Mohant. After the election the chosen disciple is installed on the *gaddi* of his predecessor with much ceremony. Sometimes most unseemly struggles for the succession take place. It has happened that two rivals, each backed by a section of neighboring Mohants and other partizans, though neither, perhaps, strictly speaking, a *chela* of the deceased have started up to make title to the vacant Mohantship. Both accompanied the dead body a long distance to the sacred river and put fire into the mouth, as the corpse was launched into the Ganges. Both returned to be formally elected by their respective adherents in two separate *majlis* held within the same compound of the *math*. Both were carried in a grand procession with elephants and horses and flags and drums and a crowd of followers round the village; and, finally, both came into a Court of law to establish, by prolonged litigation reaching even to the Privy Council, rights which probably neither of them was strictly entitled to.

The *mandir* (or temple) of the *math*, if there is one in the village

* Mitak. Chap. 2, Sec. 8, sl.16.

is generally a conspicuous object. It has usually only one chamber in which the *thakur* or image of the deity resides, and its ground section is a square of no great dimensions but it is often carried up to a considerable height, and terminates in various, more or less, conoidal forms. In some districts it is acutely pointed, and presents very much the appearance of an English church-spire, as it is seen from a distance piercing the village mass of foliage.

There are also very frequently to be seen, in or about a village, *mandirs* which do not belong to any *math*; these commonly owe their origin to private dedication. There is seldom, however, any endowment attached to them, or, perhaps, just sufficient *lakheráj* land to maintain the attendant Brahman, who performs the daily worship and keeps the place in order. More often the Brahman gets his living out of the offerings made to the *thakur* and the contributions of the orthodox, or is supported by the zamindár.

A shrine (*dargah*) or tomb of some holy Muhammadan fakír is often to be met with on the way side, with the hut or homestead of its keeper near at hand. Passers-by of all creeds and denominations throw in their cowries and pice. And if the sanctity of the deceased be much out of the common, the tomb may even be a valuable source of revenue. In that case it is treated as a subject of property which passes by inheritance from owner to owner, and the keeper is paid by salary from the person entitled to it. Generally, however, the keeper of the place alone is interested in it, and transmits his humble effects to his heirs.

In a large village there will be a *mandap*, i.e., a spacious open-sided covered-in room, in a sense, a vestry-room, where the village pújah festivals are celebrated and other village gatherings occur. Sometimes the *mandap* is a *pakka* structure, the roof being supported on brick-built pillars. But more often it is of bamboo and thatch. It is usually kept up by the zamindár.

J.B.P.

ART. IX.—THE FIRST TWENTY YEARS OF THE
"CALCUTTA REVIEW."

The Calcutta Review, Vol. I, May—August 1844, to Vol. XXXVIII, September—December, 1863.

JUST thirty years have passed since the publication of the first volume of the *Calcutta Review*. The remarkable success which attended it, forms an era in the history not only of Anglo-Indian but of Oriental literature. Whether we look at the period at which the first Number appeared, at the objects for which the *Review* was established, at the course which it has since run, or at the men who have been the most able and frequent contributors to its pages, the early history of this Periodical deserves to be recorded, so far as that may now be possible. The period of thirty years in India in reality embraces four of those generations of official and non-official residents, each of which has been reckoned at seven years. The founder and the earlier Editors, with one exception, are still happily spared to do service to India and to literature ; but years have passed since they bade a final farewell to the country. Of the most distinguished writers in the first years of the *Review's* existence, the majority still survive, but the gaps made by the removal of Henry Lawrence, of Herbert Edwardes, of Henry Durand, of William Sinclair Mackay, of Baird Smith, of Colonel Broome and even of Wyllie and Wynue, warn us to collect the materials of our history while we may. It is significant that, soon after these pages are in the hands of our readers, the last of the seven Editors of the *Calcutta Review* during the first twenty years of its existence, will have left India. We confine our narrative to these twenty years, during which this Periodical may be said to have been a unity, to have been conducted strictly on the catholic and eclectic principles laid down by its founder, while manifesting a spirit of Christian and even Missionary zeal, due as much to the tone of its contributors as to the policy of its conductors.

The year 1844, when the first Number appeared, was itself remarkable as, in one sense, the turning point in the history of the Press in India. Lord Ellenborough had been recalled and Sir Henry Hardinge became Governor-General. With the former the last traces of hostility and even hatred to independent journalism passed away for ever ; for, much as we may resent Lord Canning's Act of 1857, which gagged the European Press along with the Native, as unnecessary and pernicious, the circumstances were critical

and the effect was trifling. It was in 1818 that Mr. Silk Buckingham established the *Calcutta Journal*, which soon became the centre of a knot of the ablest officials in the Services and elevated the standard of Indian journalism. For years afterwards Mr. Adam, an otherwise excellent and able Civilian, took advantage of his temporary position as provisional Governor-General, to pass an ordinance fettering the Press, and to deport Mr. Buckingham. Practically, on Mr. Adam's departure, the law became a dead letter, as Lord Hastings had always allowed the previous orders on the subject to become. Lord William Bentinck left the glory, and the official penalty, of legislatively freeing the Press for ever to Sir Charles Metcalfe, but that distinguished Governor-General had himself done more to make honest journalism a power than any who has filled the office. As the first administrative reformer in the forty years that had passed since the constitution of Lord Cornwallis, Lord William Bentinck had to invite the aid of the press, and of all thoughtful officials through the press, against the vested interests and disgraceful abuses which resisted all improvement. Then it was that Civilians, like the Honourable Frederick John Shore contributed, anonymously, to the *India Gazette*, a Calcutta daily paper, those letters exposing the maladministration of the country, and the corruption of the subordinate officials, which he afterwards republished, with his name, as "Notes on Indian Affairs." Writing in 1836 he made this statement in his Introduction:—"These facts and opinions mark the progress of public feeling on the subject of British Indian Government. Ten or twelve years since, had any man in India ventured to publish such strictures on the Indian administration, he would most undoubtedly have been banished the country." So wrote the Commissioner of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories. It was only six months before that Sir C. Metcalfe had abolished the censorship, and that Macaulay had written his great minute on the liberty of the Press. The Charter of 1823, also, had freed trade and had opened the country to those who previously had been only licensed interlopers and yet dared not acquire or hold land in their own names. English education, both Government and Missionary, was beginning to raise a school of native writers. The prospects of progress were very bright, and it would have been even more rapid than it proved to be, when the Affghan war and its consequences caused that break which is so unfortunately marked by the reigns of Lords Auckland and Ellenborough.

The extreme policies of both these rulers—the disasters to the empire for which they were responsible, and the acts of injustice to the men who would have prevented such disasters and did everything to redeem them, of which the latter especially was guilty,—supplied growing public opinion with plentiful fuel for criticism.

The controversies of the day raged fiercely in the various newspapers. But behind the ordinary and regular combatants there were many thoughtful and high-principled officers, who sought a different means of expressing their views and provoking that discussion of which truth is born. And there was another, if not a larger class, both official and non-official, who had long contemplated with sorrow the check given to progress since Bentinck's and Metcalfe's time, who were conversant with the condition of the people on the one hand, and the inefficiency or corruption of our administration on the other, who had formed plans for the regeneration of India, and who sought to deliver their souls by writing something more permanent, if not more effective, than newspaper articles and letters. Foremost among the former class of officers was Henry Lawrence, and among the latter was Dr. Duff. Belonging to both but rather to the latter by preference, was Captain Marsh. And there were the two foremost leaders of public opinion at that time in Northern India, Sir John Kaye who was editing the *Bengal Hurkaru*, a daily newspaper in Calcutta, and Mr. John Marshman who had ten years before established the *Friend of India*, a weekly newspaper in Serampore.

To all of these five, whose names we have mentioned, the idea of or the longing for a periodical of the quarterly kind had often occurred. The actual founder of the *Calcutta Review*, the man who carried the idea into execution and who met the longing, was Sir John Kaye. From all his antecedents in the distinguished Corps of Bengal Artillery to which he had belonged, from the large correspondence and intimate intercourse which he maintained with the foremost men in the Services and out of them, from his experience as an able Editor, and from the facilities at his command, he at once secured a success of which no one else could have dreamed. The only one from whom Sir John Kaye asked or received a promise of support at first, was Captain H. Marsh of the Bengal Cavalry. That officer was a relative,—a nephew, we believe—of Mrs. George Grote, the wife of the Historian of Greece. Sir John Kaye had never seen him but, as often happens in India, the two got into familiar correspondence and wrote to each other about the idea of starting a Review on the model of the *Westminster*, to which Grote was at that time a contributor. But there is a third name of one who—apart from the other and greater fact, that it was he who soon, as Editor, continued and increased the success of the *Review*—must be mentioned along with Sir John Kaye and Captain Marsh in connexion with its foundation, Dr. Duff. When some sheets of the first number were in type, Sir John Kaye wrote to Dr. Duff enclosing proofs of his paper on Lord Teignmouth and asking him if he would contribute to a work written in that

spirit. The response of the then young, but already famous, Scotch missionary was most cordial, and his promise of help was unfettered by any stipulation. "In a very short time," to use the language of Sir John Kaye in a communication with which he has favoured us, "he had written his article on Our Earliest Protestant Mission to India, and from that time he became a contributor to the *Review*, equally indefatigable and able." The only other article in the first Number not written by the Editor himself, was that now remarkable contribution by Captain Marsh on The Rural Population of Bengal. It was produced by spasmodic instalments or, as he used to write to the Editor, by "vast throes of labour commonly ending in abortion." The following letter from Marsh, which has been found among our early records, is eminently characteristic:—

"I have more hopes of my literary pluck now. In the midst of much calculated to depress and paralyse, I have evolved myself of some foetus—some form and embodiment akin to an article. Great fact if true—if confirmed by worthy John Kaye, good John Kaye, true John Kaye, and running in the same coach with earnest, solemn Duff—the silent, the unreplying, the uncorresponding Duff. Oh ! brave, brave ! Is it so ? Yes or no ? *Utrum horum*—odd or even ?"—He had great admiration (never better bestowed) of Dr. Duff, writes Sir John Kaye, and was pining under an unanswered letter.

So in May 1844 our first Number appeared, containing 250 pages of articles, and six of light miscellaneous notices. As if to dissipate the fears of the projector and Editor, who has elsewhere recorded that he expected it would die after a few numbers leaving him a poorer man than before, the *Calcutta Review* at once leaped into popularity; not the less so, perhaps, because it raised some controversies, especially with regard to the violence of the language used in Captain Marsh's article, and in two, at least, of the Editor's. Meanwhile, Sir John Kaye had written to Mr. Marshman asking for his assistance, and we are enabled to give the words of his most encouraging reply, which are the more valuable since they fix the relation of Sir Henry Lawrence to the *Review* in its foundation:—

"It is with no small delight I hear of your intention to start a quarterly publication devoted to the discussion of Indian affairs. I have no fear of its premature decease." Then, after promising an article for the second Number on the administration of Lord William Bentinck, he said, "Major Lawrence of Khatmandoo wrote to me, not six weeks ago, begging me to start such a publication, and pointing out how useful or rather necessary it was for preparing the public mind for the great business of Indian Legislation, which will begin in seven years now. I told him I was bound to the ground by engagements and could not undertake the responsi-

utility of such a work. He will be delighted to find that one is about to commence under such good auspices, and I have little doubt of being able to engage him as a contributor." Although Sir John Kaye had for some years been a brother officer of Henry Lawrence in the Bengal Artillery, they had never met. Henry Lawrence was then, for the first time in his career, enjoying rest in the Nepal Residency, and the uninterrupted society of his noble wife, after the dangers of Afghanistan. Even amid all his previous toils he had been compelled to find vent for his administrative ideas in the ordinary journals, in one of which, the *Delhi Gazette*, he had written "The Adventurer in the Punjab," which, afterwards published as a separate work, has been too long out of print. The leisure of Nepal, following the blunders of Afghanistan which tempted criticism, combined with the establishment of the *Review* to lead Henry Lawrence to volunteer so many as four articles for one number.

Meanwhile, as only 500 copies of the first Number had been printed, a second edition was issued and soon bought up, and a third edition was afterwards published in England. Even Henry Lawrence was so little prepared for what he then considered the extravagant tone of some of its articles, especially Captain Marsh's, that he wrote strenuously advising the Editor to insist on more moderation. After such writing as that of the old Civilian Shore, ten years previously, we are surprised that the article on the Rural Population of Bengal should have given such deep offence. We agree with Sir John Kaye in the criticism which he passes on the paper, in the communication above referred to: "Re-reading it now, after a lapse of many years, it appears to me to be admirably written. It is earnest and eloquent,—thoroughly fearless, and displaying, in almost every paragraph, a deep-seated humanity. But what could be expected otherwise than that the higher classes of English readers, notably the covenanted Civilians, should have resented such language as this: 'Fearlessly and honestly analysed, it will be found, that in no civilised country of the earth, or dependency of any such country, does there exist a spirit of such utter disregard of the rights and happiness of such stupendous masses of our fellow-men, as that which marks the principles and process of the present Government of India?' Lawrence and Mr. Marshman both counselled a more moderate tone, and the public papers did the same. Captain Marsh had the good feeling and the good sense to acknowledge that he would soon wreck the *Review* and he ceased to write." Evidently, the Civilians of 1844, who were responsible for the police and presided in the courts, in the days when there were no railways nor codes, when interlopers were few, and independence was known only under the shadow of the

Supreme Court or in a foreign settlement like that of the Danes, had never heard of Thomas Carlyle. It was he whom Captain Marsh not only quoted but imitated, drinking in that inspiration alike of feeling and its expression, which led him to apply to the oppressed millions of Bengal the sage's denunciations of shams and apotheosis of divine force as the lever for raising the people. What Captain Marsh cried for in 1844, and missionary after missionary subsequently prayed Parliament to secure, it was left to Sir George Campbell to do, and to bequeath to his successor in 1874.

Not less characteristic and noteworthy in this first Number is the eloquent and yet chaste fervour of Dr. Duff when discussing Ziegenbalg's life and missionary policy. That article contains the germs of the whole career of the greatest of modern missionaries, and of the teaching of the now venerable professor of Evangelistic Theology in the New Colleges of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen. The writer rises to lofty heights and he is well sustained by a cultured enthusiasm, which half a century of toil in his Master's service has only caused to burn with a purer flame. Of Sir John Kaye's early contributions we can only say that we trust he will carry out the intention which, we believe, he has formed, of including them in a published selection of his Articles.

The second Number, issued in August 1844, not only added to the popularity of the *Review* in India, but gave it at once a position in England. In the interval between the two, the fact of Lord Ellenborough's recall had become known. Of the two articles contributed by Sir John Kaye, round whom a staff of writers had now rallied, that on Lord Ellenborough's Administration reached England soon after the recalled Governor-General. Able and well written in itself, the circumstance led to frequent quotations from this paper by the leading journals at home, and the *Review* at once took its place as the first authority on Indian subjects, while worthy to rank with the English Quarterlies in many respects. Mr. Marshman did that justice to the work and the reputation of Lord William Bentinck which had been denied by the India House historian, Mill, as commented on by H. H. Wilson and Thornton. Dr. Duff again appeared in the front rank of philanthropists, in a paper on Female Infanticide. He brought with him a future Editor of the *Review*, the Rev. Thomas Smith, afterwards honoured by his own University of Edinburgh with the degree of Doctor of Divinity, but then known as a keen mathematician, having been one of the favourite students of the late Principal Forbes. In a paper on the Astronomy of the Hindoos, as in others on cognate subjects, which followed it, Dr. Thomas Smith was the first to represent science and to do justice to the old Asiatic civilisations in the pages of the *Review*. In this

Number, finally, we find the first article contributed by Henry Lawrence, on "The Recent History of the Punjab," from which he had recently come. This Number established the reputation of the *Review*. It was even more successful than the first, for it represented more variety of style.

The third and fourth Numbers were still more varied. They were remarkable, though this was not known to the public at the time, for the first article by a Bengalee writer in an English Review—that on the Kuliu Brahmans of Bengal by the Rev. Krishna Mohun Banerjya, of whom and of the other Native writers more hereafter; and for a charming contribution on the Romance and Reality of Indian Life, by Lady Lawrence. She and one who in many respects resembles her, Mrs. Colin Mackenzie, are the only lady writers in the *Review*. One of Mrs. Colin Mackenzie's contributions falls later than the period to which our narrative is confined. He who would appreciate Lady Lawrence, or understand all that she was to her great husband, in his public life, must turn to the first volume of the Memoir by Sir Herbert Edwardes. The only other article written by Lady Lawrence, who was soon after removed by death, is that in the 7th Number, on The Englishwoman in Hindustan. To these Numbers Henry Lawrence himself contributed four articles. That on the Military Defence of our Empire in the East, has since become so famous, that we shall quote Sir John's Kaye's account of it, in his charming volumes, the *Lives of Indian Officers*. The writer can indorse, from his own later experience of Sir Henry Lawrence as a contributor and a correspondent, every word of this statement:—

His contributions were graced with matter of the best kind—important, facts accompanied by weighty opinions and wise suggestions. But he was always deploring, and not without reason, his want of literary skill. This want would have been a sore trial to an Editor, if it had not been accompanied by the self-knowledge of which I have spoken. There was, indeed, a charming candour and modesty about him as a writer, an utter absence of vanity, opinionativeness, and sensitive egotism about small things. He was eager in his exhortations to the Editor to "cut and prune." He tried hard to improve his style, and wrote that, with this object, he had been reading Macaulay's Essays and studying Lindley Murray. On one occasion, but one only, he was vexed by the manner in which the Editorial authority had been exercised. In an article on the "Military Defence of our Indian Empire" which, seen by the light of subsequent events, has quite a flash of prophecy upon it, he had insisted, more strongly than the Editor liked at the time, on the duty of a Government being at all times prepared for war. Certain events, then painfully fresh in the public mind, had given the Editor somewhat ultra-pacific tendencies, and in the course of the correspondence he must have expressed

his opinions over-strongly, by applying the epithet "abominable" to certain doctrines which Lawrence held more in favour. "When you know me better," he wrote in reply, "you will not think that I can advocate anything abominable." And nothing was more true. The contributor was right, and the Editor was wrong. But although Lawrence was properly tenacious of his principles, he was, as I have said, very modest in his estimate of his style, and as his handwriting was not the most legible in the world and as the copyists whom he tried only made matters worse, there was sometimes ludicrous confusion in his sentences as they came from the hands of the native printer. But, full of solid information as they ever were, the articles more than repaid any amount of Editorial trouble, and when they appeared were generally the most popular contributions to each number of the *Review*. He continued to the end of his life to contribute at intervals to this publication, and was, when the rebellion of 1857 broke out, employed on a review of the "Life of Sir John Malcolm" which he never lived to complete.

In no respect did the *Calcutta Review* influence the administration of the country so effectually as through the articles of Lawrence. They were read by Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General, who selected their writer as his chosen assistant and counsellor in the Punjab. We should add that, on one occasion, Henry Lawrence wrote to Sir John Kaye saying that his "brother John" promised an article about Delhi. It is a misfortune that it never came, and that Lord Lawrence's name is not in the list of contributors to the *Calcutta Review*, which contains those of a Governor-General designate and several Lieutenant Governors.

In the third Number there appears the name of the Rev. W. S. Mackay, D.D., for the first time, as the writer of the paper on the "Jesuits' Missions in India." Sir John Kaye does only justice to this production when he pronounces it "a most admirable article full of the results of elaborate research conveyed in most polished language. It would have done honour to any periodical in the world." The article was republished in England. At this time William Sinclair Mackay was in the ripeness of his life, as a missionary of singular persuasiveness and attractive spirituality, as a writer of exquisite grace, and as a scholar whom few could surpass whether in the ancient classics, in the French language, or in English literature. In later years, when sickness made him a confirmed invalid and he was forced to lecture to his students from the couch, none but his few intimate friends, some of them Bengalees whom he had brought to Christ—appreciated all he was. Even yet there are Native Christians in Bengal who delight to honour and to serve his widow in England. But in 1845 Dr. Mackay had still tolerable if not robust health, and it is not too much to say that there was no one in India who surpassed him in

literary excellence, and in a wonderfully attractive power of preaching. Had health been given him he would have proved not the least remarkable of that early group of men whom the Scotch Kirk sent to India, and of whom Drs. Duff and Wilson alone survive. Whether as a contributor or, afterwards, as Editor for some time, Dr. Mackay's services to the *Review* were most highly valued. More recently, on retiring to Scotland, he became one of the most valued writers in Murray's *Quarterly Review*, when the illness which prematurely cut him off had confined him permanently to his room.

There is another article in the fourth Number which is remarkable. Dr. Duff's paper on "The State of Indigenous Education in Bengal and Behar," based on Adam's long neglected reports, may be considered the beginning of that system of vernacular education which, though denied to Bengal, where it had its birth, up to the year 1872, was eagerly developed by Thomason in the North-Western Provinces and has since spread all over India. In the sixth Number, the first which he edited, Dr. Duff followed it up by a paper on "The Early and Exclusively Oriental Period of Government Education in Bengal." The educationist who had fought most stoutly, and most successfully, for the higher instruction in English as against a mechanical and eleemosynary Orientalism, ten years before, did not fail to contend for those primary vernacular schools for the mass of the people, without which the higher education might become only a new instrument of oppression and denationalization.

Sir John Kaye brought out the first four Numbers between May and December 1841. Under such a burden, in addition to that of editing a daily paper, his health gave way. After making arrangements for the fifth and writing for it the article on "The Sick Room in India," he was ordered home. With the most unselfish kindness Dr. Duff volunteered to take the editorship on himself. Sir John Kaye had dreamed at one time of removing the *Review* to England, but his friends and colleagues overruled him, and he soon admitted that they were right. After a most successful editorship of nearly five years Dr. Duff went home, resigning his chair to Dr. W. S. Mackay. We have failed to ascertain accurately the length of time during which Dr. Mackay acted as Editor, but internal and other evidence seems to justify the date affixed in the list. He was succeeded by a third member of the Free Church of Scotland Mission, the Rev. Dr. T. Smith,* already mentioned as one of the earliest contributors. On Dr. Smith's departure for Scotland, on leave, in 1855, he was followed as Editor by Mr. George Smith, LL.D., then Principal of the Doveton College. But, soon after, the *Review* was purchased from Sir John Kaye and edited by Mr. Meredith Townsend,

who had followed Mr. Marshman in the editorial chair and was most successfully conducting the *Friend of India*. Up to the 50th Number Sir John Klye had continued as proprietor of the *Review*, carefully supplying it with articles from England and providing for its business details. All the Editors who had succeeded him, and nearly all the writers, had declined any remuneration for their services, but the proprietor sought to make some recognition of the labours of the Missionary Editors by an annual donation to the prize fund of the Free Church College in Calcutta. We may add that, except during the régime of Mr. Townsend, editors and contributors alike, with a very few exceptions in the latter class, gave their services from love of the good cause, down to the 70th Number.

Mr. Townsend sought to conduct the *Review* on liberal commercial principles. He gathered around him a new staff of writers whom he paid at the rates of the best Quarterlies of Great Britain, and he spared no expense in the arrangements of the press. But he failed to propitiate the booksellers, and after a year's brilliant literary management he sold the property to Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., of Calcutta, who secured Dr. T. Smith again as Editor on his return to India. After the outburst of the Mutiny of 1857 and the arrival of the Black Watch, H.M.'s 42nd, in Calcutta, Dr. T. Smith, though not a military chaplain nor of an Established Church, was appointed by Lord Canning to be the Presbyterian chaplain of the Regiment. He was again succeeded as Editor by Dr. George Smith, but after marching with the regiment to the field he was recalled by an order from the less liberal Government at home, because he was a Free Churchman, and he soon after left India for ministerial duty in Edinburgh. From the 2nd to the 59th Number inclusive he had contributed 32 articles. His loss was sorely felt for a time in the missionary and literary circles of Calcutta, and by the Bengalees of whom he had for sixteen years been a valued instructor.

When Dr. G. Smith joined the *Friend of India* he took the *Review* with him, and it was once again owned and published by the Serampore Press. In 1819 he found it inadvisable to continue to edit the *Review* along with that journal, and the *Calcutta* passed into the hands of Mr. J. Newmarch, then one of the leading barristers. Finding the burden greater than he had expected, Mr. Newmarch resolved to let the *Review* die, when Dr. G. Smith protested and Sir Richard Temple came to the rescue. The present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal had arrived in Calcutta from the Punjab as the secretary of the lamented James Wilson. He was a staunch supporter of, and frequent contributor to the periodical, and his public spirit at this juncture was

most praiseworthy. He and Dr. G. Smith continued as joint Editors for a year, at the close of which his public duties rendered it impossible for Sir Richard to remain one of the responsible conductors of a Quarterly. Sir Richard Temple has proved himself, alike in the Punjab, in the Central Provinces, and now in the famine districts of Bengal, *facile princeps* as an administrator. But it was the saying of perhaps the most brilliant journalist India has seen, that he had mistaken his career, for he would have made a magnificent editor. Believing that it would be benefited if owned by publishers who would conduct it on purely commercial principles, to suit the change of circumstances and society introduced by the Mutiny, the *Review* was then purchased by Messrs. R. C. Lepage and Co.; and the chaplain of Serampore, the Rev. T. Ridsdale, M.A., was recommended by the retiring Editors as their successor. After a year's experience Mr. Ridsdale, who had made himself beloved as a parish minister in Serampore and was an accomplished Oxford man, left for England where he has since held a living.

It only remains that we should glance at the list of writers, European and Bengalee, and should ask how far the only Indian Quarterly has, during these twenty years, carried out the object of its founders. It should be remembered that, as the list ceases at the 76th number, and the present is the 117th, there are some writers in it who contributed articles to the later numbers, notably Sir H. Durand, Mr. C. U. Aitchison, and Mr. Wynne. And there are some men of mark whose papers were prepared after the 76th Number,—above all, Bishop Cotton and the venerable missionary and scholar, Dr. John Wilson. There are few papers so able, so suggestive, and so marked by the lofty yet genial spirit of the Christian and the scholar, as the lamented Bishop's articles on the Tinnevely Mission and on European and East Indian Education in India.

First in the list of writers, and most prolific, comes, as was to be expected, Sir John Kaye, with 47 articles. It was his pleasure as well as his duty, on his return to England, to send out for every Number notices of the latest books on India; and this is the simple explanation of an article on one of his own works contributed by himself. That article is nothing but a series of extracts from a book not then published, strung together without any expression of literary opinion. Looking back on his connexion with the first fifty Numbers Sir John Kaye remarks in a letter to the present writer:—"Thirty years have passed since I wrote my first article for the *Calcutta Review*. Governments have passed away, armies have passed any, but what I regarded as a mere ephemeral still survives." Long may it flourish! Next to him comes the Rev. Dr. T. Smith with 32 articles. It is impossible to over-estimate the value of

the 26 papers contributed by Mr. W. S. Seton-Karr, whose name, indeed, should be joined with that of the Five who combined to give the *Review* its early success, for without him it could not so well have maintained that reputation. From the first, whether enjoying the comparative leisure of a District Judge, or immersed in the details of the duties of a Secretary to Government, Mr. Seton-Karr was always ready, always able in his treatment of Indian questions, especially those relating to the people. The Editor who, from any cause, found the day of publication at hand and his list still defective, had only to hint his difficulty, and in good time most valuable MSS. would come in with the Jessore post-mark. Next comes Sir W. Muir with 15 articles. The majority of these are in reality the basis of his valuable *Life of Mohamed* afterwards published in four volumes. In fostering the production of such a work at the hands of a busy North-West Civilian, the *Review* did no little service. A similar number of articles appears from the pen of the Rev. J. Leng, a Church Missionary who explored the bye-paths of Indian literature and life and brought back much valuable fruit as the result. In order to write that curious and instructive paper on Calcutta in the Olden Time, Mr. Long induced the late Mrs. Ellerton to accompany him in his buggy, to point out such spots as that where Warren Hastings fought the duel.

Sir Henry Durand's name appears with 11 articles against it, but he wrote two if not three of great ability in the later Numbers. In value they do not fall short of Henry Lawrence's Essays, and we trust his second son, now a Bengal Civilian, will give them to the world with a memoir of the upright, the fearless, the far-seeing, the Christian soldier, who was cut off by an accident too soon for his country's and India's good. When, before his tardy appointment to the Punjab we referred to him regarding the accuracy of our list of his contributions, he said :—"You may publish it, but it will make me some enemies." The days of controversy about the Affghan, Burmah and Punjab troubles were over, and when an analysis of the articles appeared in the *Friend of India* newspaper it added to the number of his admirers. Dr. Duff wrote 16 long articles, and Dr. Mackay, 12. Mr. Marshman contributed 10, all suggestive and full of curious lore, and his successor, Mr. Townsend, 7, all brilliant and giving that promise which he has since amply redeemed on a wider field. Sir R. Temple supplied 11, and Mr. H. G. Keene, now Judge of Agra, 10. Not less valuable than Mr. Seton-Karr's, though not so numerous, were the 12 clever articles of his brother-in-law, Mr. R. N. Cust. Like him, too, the Editor could always rely on Mr. Cust in a strait. His article in the 61st Number, on "A District during

a 'Rebellion," giving his experiences of Allahabad in 1857, excited more attention both in England and in India than any of the more recent papers. It is with sadness that we linger over the name of William Delafield Arnold, worthy of his family and name, who, after a short career in the Bengal Army, which enabled him to write *Oakfield*, found congenial employment as the first Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab. All that he wrote is worth reading even yet, and we only regret that we declined to publish that acrostic of his on Lord Canning in the Mutiny days, beginning—"Cold to his friends and clement to his foes," and ending—"God made a Lawrence and man made a peer." The epigram seemed severe then but it was of permanent literary value, and our memory can recall no more of it now. Few articles contain so much political wisdom regarding England and India, as his "Indian Faults and English Calumnies."

We should have expected more than 5 articles from that accomplished literary archæologist and military writer, the late Colonel Broome. Not the least valuable are the 3 by Mr. E. B. Cowell, now Cambridge Sanskrit Professor. The two by Sir Herbert Edwardes are worthy of the writer and the man. It was to meet his desire for a list of the articles written by Sir Henry Lawrence, when in 1858 Sir Herbert planned the publication of a Memoir, that we were led to begin the formation of a full and correct list of contributors. The lamented Baird Smith is represented by 2 articles; also the accomplished Sir Henry Rawlinson, first of living authorities on Central Asia. Mr. Macleod Wylie, formerly Secretary of the Legislative Council, prepared 3 of permanent value. The other Presidencies are represented by Mr. T. Maltby, the Madras Civilian, who sent so many as 6, and by the late Dr. Anderson, the Bombay Scotch Chaplain, and author of that now rare book "The English in Western India." From Madras also come papers by a distinguished local Civilian, Mr. Bourdillon; by Colonel Duncan, now Secretary to the Government of British Burmah, then Adjutant of a Sepoy Corps at Vizagapatam; and by that indefatigable and earnest officer of one idea, Sir Arthur Cotton. The Missionaries are well represented not only by the Editors but by Drs. Yates, Kay, Wenger, Moegling and Mullens, and by Messrs. Morton, Slater, Storrow and Long. Among the most distinguished one-article men we find Sir George Campbell, on the Government of India; Sir Cecil Beadon, on Salt; Sir J. Strachey, on the Kumaon and Gurwhal Himalaya; the late Messrs. W. S. Wylie and Wynne, and the late Bishop of Victoria (Hong-Kong). The two valuable papers by Dr. Chevers, are not the only contributions from the fine old Indian Medical Service; which, though maintaining its own professional periodicals, has ever been ready to aid in the cause of culture

and progress in every form. There are Drs. Grant, K. Mackinnon, Ebdon, Cleghorn, Hathaway, T. Hastings, Mouat, Luard and Murray, and those most promising physicians, Bedford and John Brown, who were cut off in their prime—the latter from the effects of that march to Lucknow with Brasyer's Sikhs which he describes. Besides the soldiers already mentioned at length the Army has sent to our ranks Colonel Thuillier, F.R.S., Colonel Chesney, Major-General Vaughan, Colonels Faber, Macleod Innes, V.C., Wheeler, Hardy, E. Jacob, McAndrew, Maxwell, Laurie Taylor, Malleon, and Rowlatt, and Captain Knollys. Nor is the list without merchants and planters, barristers and naval authorities chaplains, schoolmasters and finally savants like Dr. T. Oldham and Mr. Medlicott. Besides the great names of the Civil Service already given, there are competition-wallas to whose articles future biographers may turn when the writers have gained the great prizes of their Service. The Uncovenanted Service contribute their share through. Messrs Stephen, Hollingbery, Reilly, Spencer, Grant, Clarke and others; the East Indians, through Messrs. C. Montague and Wale Byrne. The Judges have their representatives in the Hon'ble Messrs. Macpherson and Boulnois. Besides Sir John Kaye, Mr. Marshman, Mr. Townsend and Dr. George Smith, against whose name there are 7 articles, the small literary class in India contribute Messrs. Wilby, Wheeler, Blanchard, H. Mead, J. Mawson, Gordon, Colin Browning, Capper and Knighton. The list of the 178 writers who produced our first thirty-eight volumes in the twenty years ending 1863, forms a small biographical dictionary of Anglo-Indians. Of these 178 there were 41 who contributed 3 or more articles each.

Not the least important service done to India by the establishment of the *Calcutta Review* lay in the fact that it became the medium through which cultured Bengalee writers communicated to the world their special information regarding India, and sought to influence their less advanced countrymen. The educational, the social and the literary progress, which owed its existence to some of the early European contributors, thus began to bear fruit and to propagate itself in raising a school of Native writers and reformers. It will be seen that nearly all the nine Native writers during the first twenty years of the Review's history, directly owed their training to that college of which the three successive Editors, Drs. Duff, Mackay, and T. Smith were, along with a "pillar" like the late Dr. Ewart, the able and successful conductors. The first and most important accession of a Bengalee writer to the staff was the Rev. Krishna Mohun Bannerjya, who wrote, in the third Number, an excellent article on the "Kulin Brahmins of Bengal," being himself by birth one of that privileged class. Sir John Kaye afterwards requested him to write an article on the "Transition

State of the Hindu Mind," meaning the transition state of the then existing period, when educated Hindus were shaking off the old faith without grasping a new one. He seems to have misunderstood the drift of the request, for he wrote a learned article on the Transition States of the Hindu Mind, tracing the transitions in days past. The two articles were the best ever then written by a native of India in the English language, and contained information which no European writers could have possessed.

Mr. Bannerjya was that first convert of Dr. Duff, the singular and significant circumstances of whose abandonment of Hinduism are told by the now venerable missionary in the appendix to his "India and Indian Missions." Mr. Bannerjya's subsequent career has been that of a scholar, a writer and a minister of the Church of England. He himself, we believe, furnished the materials for a Memoir which, some thirty-five years ago, was published in the *India Review* edited by Dr. Corbyn. In that periodical there appeared a series of memoirs of well-known Anglo-Indian and Native gentlemen, with their portraits. Mr. Bannerjya's Memoir gave rise to some discussion as to the reason which led him to leave the Church of Scotland for that of England, and in the course of the controversy Dr. Ewart, who was in Calcutta, and Dr. Duff from Scotland, expressed on that subject a very strong difference of opinion from that of the writer of the Memoir. Dr. Duff's statement closed the controversy in India, though it was revived in England in the columns of the *Record*. As Professor in Bishop's College when Dr. Kay was Principal, as one of the two regular Examiners in the College of Fort William, as an occasional lecturer and writer on Christian subjects though not engaged in ecclesiastical work, and as President of the Bengal Native Christian Association, the Rev. K. M. Bannerjya has continued to do service to the cause of national progress and scholarship in the highest sense. His four contributions to our pages are most valuable to the present day. The first and second we have described; the third and fourth are on Hindu Caste and on Sanskrit Poetry.

Of the Rev. Lal Behari Day and Baboo Bipin Behari Shome, as younger men, it becomes us to say less. Fellow students in Dr. Duff's College, they generally ran so close a race as to share the highest honors at the end of the session. They belonged to that præ-University era when, cramming being unknown, both the Missionary and the Government teachers devoted, among their students, much care to the study of English literature and the formation of a correct English style. The writing of essays was the favourite and the highest exercise of the students. To such training this *Review* owes some of its best native papers. Bipin Behari Shome, remaining a Hindu, does not seem to have

continued his literary pursuits after he left college for Government service in the Treasury. The information contained in his two articles, especially that on the Shaktas, is as valuable as the picture which it draws of a popular form of idolatry is revolting. Christianity has given his fellow student a very different career. Trained, after his conversion, according to the long and thorough course of theological study rigorously laid down for those who would be preachers or ordained ministers in the Scotch Churches, Mr. Day became successively a Professor in the College and the elected minister of the Native Presbyterian Church in Cornwallis Square. Circumstances led him to take the position of an Assistant Professor in the Government service, but he has never dropped his clerical character or duties, and acceptably ministers to the Presbyterian congregation, chiefly Europeans, in Chinsurah, in addition to his secular work. He has contributed more than any other Bengalee gentleman to our pages. More recently he has established the *Bengal Magazine*, a monthly periodical in which Bengalee writers, one of them in the Covenanted Civil Service, discuss literary and political questions. He has also gained the prize offered by the well-known zemindar, Baboo Joykissen Mookerjee, for the best English tale descriptive of the life and thoughts of the rural population of Bengal. Following such a work as Bekker's "Charicles" as a model, Mr. Day's volumes, if published in England, as they are likely to be, will reveal to English readers the lowly lot, the dense ignorance, and the hopeful capacity of the ryots of Bengal, as well as the oppressions and the virtues of the zemindar and the planter. Of the two brothers Mitter, Kissory Chand, who was at one time a Police Magistrate of Calcutta, has passed away. Baboo Peary Chand has enriched vernacular literature with novels which are valued by competent critics. A reformer of the old school, and in some respects like the Brahmo, he has not formally identified himself with any body of dissidents from Hinduism.

For more detailed information regarding the remarkable Dutt family, who among them contributed ten articles to the *Review* in its first twenty years, we have had recourse to a Bengalee friend. But we cannot mention the name of the father, the late Russomoy Dutt whom we knew twenty years ago, without a tribute to his virtues and abilities. One of the Judges of the Calcutta Small Cause Court, he won the respect and confidence of the whole community. None valued him more highly than his colleague, Mr. Macleod Wyllie, the First Judge, intercourse with whom undoubtedly made Russomoy Dutt one of that large and increasing class of secret Christians, whom the tyranny of a social system like that of the Hindus so often holds in bondage, till the approach of death sets it at defiance. In his last hours Russomoy declared himself a Christian. Our Native authority

thus writes:—"Baboo Russomoy Dutt had five sons, two of whom, and they were the eldest, Krishna Chundra Dutt and Kailas Chundra Dutt, died many years ago; the three remaining sons, Govind Chundra Dutt, Hur Chundra Dutt, and Girish Chundra Dutt, are living and are Christians. Krishna Chundra, the eldest, left two sons, Hem Chundra Dutt and Churn Chundra Dutt; both are Christians, and the second has just come out as a barrister of the High Court. Russomoy's second son, Kailas Chundra, left only one son, Oomesh Chundra Dutt, who is a Christian, and who is the elected Vice-Chairman of the Calcutta Municipality. He writes good verses, and knows French and German. So that all the sons and grandsons of Russomoy have become Christians. The eldest son, Krishna Chundra, also died a Christian, and was, strange to say, baptized on his death-bed by one of his brothers who had not been baptized himself!

Govind Chundra Dutt, the eldest now living of the sons of Russomoy, and who is about 47 years old, I have always regarded as the finest English scholar amongst the Natives of Bengal and consequently of India. His article in the *Review* on Mrs. Barrett Browning's Poems was mistaken by the Calcutta newspapers for Kaye's. He is the chief writer and editor of the "Dutt Family Album"! He spent some years in England, Italy and France, and came out only six months ago with his wife and two daughters. His daughters are accomplished young ladies, who write English verses in the *Bengal Magazine* under the signatures A.D. and T.D. and who speak and write French like French ladies. Govind Chundra began life as Deputy Magistrate in Rampore Beaulah, and afterwards joined the Financial Department. He soon distinguished himself there, and attracted the notice of James Wilson, the Financier, and of Sir Richard Temple who sometimes visited Govind Chundra in his house at Bagmari in the suburbs of Calcutta, where he still resides. But Govind Chundra left the Treasury in disgust as two Europeans, who were his inferiors, were promoted over his head. Had he remained, he would have attained the position of men like Mr. G. W. Kellner and Mr. Hollingbery. He was baptized by the Rev. Mr. Bomwetsch of the Church Missionary Society.

Hur Chundra Dutt, the next son, was for many years Actuary of the Government Savings' Bank. Though he was baptized by Mr. Bomwetsch he was not a little indebted for his religious impressions to Dr. W. S. Mackay. Grish Chundra, the third and youngest son, who is a Christian, was for some time Clerk of one of the Judges of the Calcutta Court of Small Causes. Shoshee Chundra Dutt is the son of a brother of Russomoy's. He was never baptized. He was for many years Head Assistant in the Bengal Office and retired only last year on pension. He published many

years ago a volume of "Essays" in which were included his contributions to the *Calcutta Review*. He was a competitor for the prize for the best Essay on Caste, which was awarded to the Rev. Mr. Bower, Missionary in South India. Shoshee published his Essay in the form of a pamphlet."

When in May 1844, Sir John Kaye sent forth the first Number to the world, in the modest belief "that the publication of even a few numbers containing truthful expositions of some of the principal questions affecting the interests of the people of British India, would not be utterly thrown away," he thus stated the object and laid down the policy of the undertaking:—

The object of this work is simply to bring together such useful information, and propagate such sound opinions, relating to Indian affairs, as will, it is hoped, conduce, in some small measure, directly or indirectly, to the amelioration of the condition of the people. Our first desire is to awaken interest; to induce a thirst after information, then to supply that information; and, finally, to teach the application of it to its most beneficial uses. The bane of this country is ignorance: Ignorance not in the dark recesses of native life—there it is comparatively harmless; but in high places,—among the ruling body—among the men to whom inscrutable Providence has submitted the destinies of India. We call upon all men to declare what they know. We desire to apply this work to the purposes of a vast Commission, in the records of which will be found a greater mass of information—of information, which, at such an epoch as this, it is desirable above all things to disseminate widely among Englishmen—than in any single work extant. As the *Review* is the organ of no party; and the Editor perhaps the last of the many writers, meeting together in its catholic pages, whose own views are worthy to be converted into a Præcursus—before the mutilation of other men's expositions, complete harmony of opinion on lesser points of faith, is clearly not to be expected. In full reliance upon the character of our associates; the soundness of their principles; the purity of their intentions; their earnest aspirations after the good of their fellows; the general agreement of their opinions with our own; we are anxious, that each should express himself without restraint, especially upon such questions, as necessarily involve the putting forth of novel suggestions for the reform of existing evils. It is possible that different writers may work, by different roads, towards the same goal; and that different schemes for the removal of existing abuses may be propounded in these pages, by different apostles of the same Reformation. We believe that this, so far from impairing the value of our work, will greatly extend the sphere of its utility. We are confident of preserving a general harmony of opinion; and we are desirous of preserving nothing more.

As one who was privileged to take part in the work only during the later portion of the twenty years of this narrative, the present writer may, with becoming confidence, appeal to the India alike of

the past and of the present, to say whether that object has not been more fully realised, whether that policy has not been more completely carried out, than the projector dreamed. Springing out of the disasters, the mistakes and the heroism of the Affghan period ; strengthened by the victories of war and of peace which have made the Marquis of Dalhousie's name illustrious for ever ; reflecting the lurid light of the Mutiny period which, in some sense a consequence of the blunders in Affghanistan, was the real beginning of British Indian history ; and watching the attempt of the Queen's Government to bring order out of the administrative chaos which prevailed till the death of Lord Elgin, the *Calcutta Review* closed the first twenty years of its history, after having been identified, directly or indirectly, with almost every great reform, and having proved the meeting-ground of truth-seeking officials and non-officials, Natives and Europeans, who sought the glory of the empire and the good of the people.

GEORGE SMITH, LL.D.

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CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Eithi-hasika—Rahasya; or, Curiosities of History. Part I. By Ramdas Sen. Stanhope Press, Calcutta: 1281 B.S.

“**E**RE the pyramids looked down upon the valley of the Nile—when Greece and Italy, those cradles of European civilization, nursed only the tenants of the wilderness—India was the seat of wealth and grandeur,” poetry and philosophy; and the Indians were a race of heroes and philosophers. It is a pity that such a potent nation kept no regular account of the origin and growth of their civilization, of their moral and intellectual progress. Whatever documents they have, are but grievously mutilated records, impregnated with crude materials. Their early history, very like that of the Greeks, is a tissue of fables. But happily for the antiquary, these stories and fragments furnish, to a great extent, inexhaustible sources from which light and harmony may be elicited. Long before our countrymen took any real part in unveiling the face of India’s antiquity, oriental scholars of the West began to examine these relics, compare their several parts with one another and found conclusions thereon. The examples of these scholars, combined with the force of education that is steadily growing among us, have infused into the minds of many educated natives of modern times the spirit of the antiquary. Babu Ramdas is one of these minds; and his *Eithihasika Rahasya* is a specimen of the noble and arduous attempts that are being made by our countrymen to reduce to intelligible form the huge mass of obscure Indian records.

The book contains 198 neatly printed pages; and almost every page shows research. Most of the essays contained in it are but reprints from the *Bangadarsana*. They are very ably handled and reflect great credit on the writer. To enquire, in detail, into the merits of the several theories, on which the essayist mainly rests his conclusions, would far exceed the limits prescribed to this notice. All that we can do here will be simply to glance in passing at the points on which we are inclined to break a lance with him, as also those which appear to us not to have received such careful and serious attention as they deserve.

The most important element in the constitution of Indian society—an element which extends its influence through all its ramifications—is the law of caste—a law that was born of simple necessity. Popular belief ascribes to it a religious character and looks at it with the reverence due to a religious institution. The belief has, however, been assailed by the learned Colonel Sykes, who questions caste as a religious institution, being associated with the early history of the people of India. Babu Ramdas observes, and we will presently see with what accuracy he does so, that it was not till the *Aryans* were firmly established in Hindustán, that caste distinctions grew up; that as they gradually moved onward on the road of social progress they began to separate themselves into classes, assigning to each class duties and responsibilities peculiarly adapted to it. Presuming that the history of caste distinction in India will be an interesting study, we make no apology for briefly sketching it out below. We have long thought on the matter and have every reason to trust that the sketch which we append is a faithful one.

Every one who has studied the early history of India with any degree of attention is aware of the nature and character of the political platform on which the tall, white *Aryans* stood, after having scaled the Hindukush and settled themselves on the borders of the *Saptanadi's*. They were environed on all sides by the dark, goat-nosed hob-goblins, their enemies. The adjectives *tall white, long-nosed, &c.*, which we find in the Vedas were applied to the invaders, and another set of descriptive terms, *short, dark, goat-nosed, and raw-flesh-eating*, always used in reference to the aborigines of the country, bear an infallible testimony to the fact that the two nations had physical peculiarities of their own, and greatly differed from each other. The conquerors brought with them some *Brahmanas* or *Mantras* by which they used to propitiate their followers and neighbours, without whose help they could never have maintained their ground in the midst of their hostile adversaries. Owing to the sublime natural scenes which surrounded them and supplied rich food to their imagination, these *Brahmanas* greatly increased in number. The ignorance of the art of writing made it an unavoidable necessity that a class should be formed, whose principal business would be to learn by heart these verses and to repeat them as exhortations in times of need. Such a class did actually arise; and it was denominated the *Brahmanas* or preservers of *Mantras*.

Again, the savage tribes; failing to cope with the might of the new-comers, retired into neighbouring forests and hills; there not to rest in peace but to make plans for surprising the enemy unawares. History is full of parallell instances, and we need not cite them here. The Aryan settlers stood

in constant alarm of the aborigines, whose stealthy attacks are recorded in the works of our great poets. In more places than one we come across expressions such as "the *Rakshusas* are scattering dead bodies over the sacrificial fire," "the *pisachas* are great nuisances, polluting the purity of sacrifice by their vile presence, interfering with the free workings of the laws of sacrifice," &c., expressions which unmistakably prove the wild and irregular mode of warfare that was carried on by the original inhabitants against their foreign invaders. To guard themselves against these attacks and to provide for the casualties to which they were exposed, the Aryans had some of them estranged from other social obligations and reserved wholly for military occupations, offensive as well as defensive. This reserved body of Aryans was denominated the *Kshetriyas*, so named because they protected the community against the inroads of the barbarians.

Next, every one sees that in such a state of internal commotion no community could enjoy the sweets of commerce. The community must feed itself. Accordingly the greater portion, if not all the rest, of the Aryan community resorted to agriculture. The very name, *Veisya* implies *people-cultivators*, i.e., that a majority of the population belonged to the class of cultivators.

Last in rank come the *Sudras*. This title was given to those of the original dwellers, who renouncing all hostile intentions against the foreign masters, enlisted themselves in their service.

The above classification at once renders it clear that the first two were nearly equally important classes in the old Aryan community. But according to the laws which strengthen and give life to society such an order of things could never exist long. Collision under such circumstances, is inevitable: and its consequences must be either a compromise between the rival parties or complete subversion of the one. We believe we are not wrong in the opinion that in the particular case in point there really took place a collision between the *Brahmanas* and the *Kshetriyas*, which ended in the triumph of neither party but in an amicable compromise, empowering the *Brahmanas* exclusively to take care of religion and to minister to the spiritual wants of the people, without any share in the administration of the civil and military affairs of the community to which the *Kshetriyas* alone were eligible. The extermination of the *Kshetriyas* by *Parusardma*, the conversion of Biswa Mitra, and the like are plain evidences confirming the opinion that a sharp and protracted struggle continued between these two sections of the early Aryan community, for a considerable number of years, till its violence was assuaged by a close amity. In consequence of the respect which men willingly pay to their

spiritual fathers the position of the *Brahmans* went on improving, till at last such considerable weights were added to the scale of their power that they were looked upon as the sole rulers of men's minds and morals, persons and property. It was in this state that *Manu* found the *Brahmans*; and hence all his laws have an unqualified tendency to assert and uphold the ascendancy of this class of the twice-born. How vigorous soever was the action, the reaction was not less vigorous. Brahmanism, not as it is now understood, received a death blow from the hands of the Buddhists. *Buddhism* was nothing more than the voice of the people against the tyranny of the priesthood. The call of Buddha was promptly answered by the people; and his religion extended throughout the length and breadth of India within a remarkably short time. Of the first votaries of this religion a greater number were from the *Sudras* and *Veisyas* who were the most oppressed classes. Thus foiled through their own pride and arrogance, in their attempt to preserve themselves on the pinnacle of greatness to which they attained by any thing but honourable steps, the *Brahmans* began to weave the spells of idol-worship to be imposed upon the people.

This outline unfolds the main features of the law of caste as it exists in India. The intelligent reader will perceive that the growth of this caste system is quite in accordance with the laws which regulate caste, so to speak, in other countries. The development is natural. Issuing from the womb of necessity, from the important principle of division of labour, it has gradually become hereditary. It is this hereditary character which has barred the progress of India's civilization and made its society stationary. Within these limits Babu Ramdasa and ourselves are at one.

Without stopping to consider whether or not the four classes into which society was divided could mix with one another with freedom, we go at once to the essay on Kalidasa. In the October number of this *Review* we discussed at some length the question concerning the age of Kalidasa, and up to this time we have found no cause to dissent from what we then wrote. We still maintain that Kalidasa flourished a little before 100 A.D. Additional arguments pour in upon us, all tending towards the confirmation of this belief; and we shall take an opportunity of giving them publicity as early as possible. Before we conclude this review we must humbly submit that after long reflection on the merits of Kalidas's and Shakespeare's plays, we can not persuade ourselves to think with Babu Ram Dasa that the myriad-minded bard of Avon was next in rank to the brightest of *subrama's nine gems*. We thoroughly appreciate the tenderness of expression and the

richness of creative fancy shown by the celebrated author of *Sakuntala* when he describes the influences which Nature exercises on our minds; but still we cannot think that they are on a par with the excellences which characterise the world-known plays of Macbeth and Hamlet. With all deference to such an authority as Goethe, we maintain that Shakespeare was a more successful anatomist of nature than the greatest dramatist of the East. Goethe the poet and Goethe the critic are two different persons, and we wonder how such a mighty thinker discovered greater marks of genius in a poet who portrayed one face of nature only than in that blessed son of the Muses who has delineated so many different characters with equal success, and who produces indescribable effects upon his readers by a masterly admixture of comic and tragic humours. But there seems to be a secret sense of injustice in some poets when judging others, and it is this which made Goethe prefer Kalidasa and Byron Pope, to Shakespeare.

In the next essay the question regarding the age of *Bararuchi* is very ingeniously discussed. Our author has made him a contemporary of Kalidasa, who as he has shewn lived about 600 years after Christ. We do not dispute that they were contemporaneous; nay we cannot do that, because of the internal evidences, which, in matters like this, form our truest guide. The language of the two writers bears so intimate a resemblance in its inflections and order of arrangement, that we can, with consistency ascribe both to one and the same period in the history of the Sanskrit language. To us it seems that both Kalidasa and Bararuchi existed somewhat before 100 A.D. To the *Bararuchi* and *Kalidasa* of *Harsavicram's* reign we are inclined to deny the authorship of *Prákrítaprokash* and of *Sakuntala*; and we feel sure that even the most casual student of Sanskrit literature who devoted a few hours to the study of *Bharavi* and *Subandhu*, acknowledged authors of *Harsa's* times, would at once join our ranks, struck with the inconsiderate haste with which some have concluded that the authors of *Sakuntala* and *Prákrítaprokash* belonged to the same period with the latter; so dissimilar was the Sanskrit of the first pair to that of the second. By a different line of argument Goldstücker has come to nearly the same conclusion. He maintains, and Professor Lethbridge seems to follow him here, that Bararuchi was a most distinguished grammarian who flourished a very little before *Patanjali* and was in all probability his teacher. According to Acharya Gobardhon, the celebrated author of *Gobardhon Saptasati*, otherwise called *Arya Saptasati*, Bararuchi lived in the same age with Panini. The *Bhoja-champa* which Babu Ramdasa has shewn to have been the production of *Bararuchi's* pen, appears to us to possess no better pretensions,

than the *Vidyasundari* to be ranked among the works of *Bara-ruchi*. It was to all appearance composed by some parasite priest in the king's court.

Towards the conclusion of this essay our author has committed a grotesque mistake in translation. The Sanskrit text “তম্ভিন্
রাজি লোকাস্তুরং প্রাপ্তে” was rendered into “তঁহার রাজী
লোকাস্তুর গত হইলে” The correct form would be “সেই রাজী
লোকাস্তুর গত হইলে.” Moreover, some of our author's citations have been so ruthlessly disfigured by the printer's devils that in the absence of other books of reference, they would have ever remained stumbling blocks to the reader.

Next follow the essays on *Sriharsha* and *Hemachandra*. Regarding these, it is sufficient to say that the latter presents nothing worth notice and the former is so thickly studded with errors that to mend them would be no easier a task than to write out a new history of *Sriharsha*. Those who wish to test the soundness of Babu Ramdas's observations on this literary character will do well to read an article on *Sriharsha*, published in the last two issues of the *Bangadarsana*.

There are five more essays equally interesting with those we have already noticed. They have all the merits of the latter without any of their faults. We would have much to say on one of them, we mean that relating to the Vedas, but we have exceeded our space. We cannot conclude these remarks without noticing the statement that Sanskrit dramas were very little known to the people of Bengal. If we look at facts that stare us in the face, we wonder how Babu Ramdas could make such an assertion. Kaviraj Biswanath, the celebrated author of *Sahitya-darpan*, a treatise on rhetoric, illustrated his own principles by exuberant quotations from *Sakuntala* and other dramatic works—a circumstance which testifies to the existence of these books in his own days and in his own country, Bengal. Again, there are two Bengal editions of *Sakuntala*, *Uttaracharita* and other plays, very popularly known under the names of *Devanagiri* and *Gowriya*. How far the two editions harmonise with one another, may be very well understood by a comparison of the two editions of *Sakuntala* by Panditas Iswara Chundra Vidyasagar and Prema Chand Tarkabagisa. Chezy's book is a Bengal edition. We can not conceive how a people could bring out new editions of works without any long and close intimacy with them. For further particulars we recommend the reader to Williams's preface to *Sakuntala*.

In conclusion, we would not have our minute criticism imputed to malicious motives. Though we disagree with the author in

many points, still we are not blind to the usefulness and importance of the book before us. In fact, we think highly of the work and hope to see the second part of it published ere long.

Arya-Darsan: A monthly Magazine. Edited by Babu Jogendro Nath Baudopadhya Vidyabhusan, M.A. New Bharat Press : 1281 BS.

WE have heard a phrenologist say that he can only tell of a child by observing its organs what it *may possibly* become, that it *may* live to be an idiot, an extraordinary character, &c.; he can not give us any positive assurances—he can not say it *must* be an idiot or otherwise. With the same amount of diffidence we say of the new-born *Aryadarsan* that it *may*, in the long run, turn out to be an excellent journal. The *Aryadarsan* is ushered into the world with flourishes of trumpets and the cause of the universal joy with which men welcome it is evident on the surface. Bengal has no good Magazines and, therefore, it warmly receives any Magazine which promises to be an improvement on those already published. We are promised in this journal matters of literary, scientific, metaphysical and philological interest, besides researches and articles on music. We are sorry the projectors have excluded politics from the list; the more so in that, at present there exists no political review among the Bengalis.

We are not now in a position to notice in detail all the articles that have appeared in the last two numbers of the *Aryadarsan*, because many of them are yet unfinished. Suffice it to say that they all interest us more or less. The article on “Kabya, Kabi, and Kabitya” is by far the best, and is alone sufficient to establish the reputation of the journal. Though we are not prepared to admit the truth of many of the propositions enunciated in it, though we are inclined to consider them in no better light than mere aberrations of excessive thought; still we are charmed by the elegance and order which the article displays. Another article, though not so good as that just mentioned deserves also a separate notice, on account of its matter. It relates to the responsibilities and obligations that bind or ought to bind the units of the Hindu family. The writer gives, by way of preamble, a definition of the word *family*, in opposition to its current meanings. He is very unwilling to make family reduce itself to wife and children only; or to extend it, like the patriarchal family of ancient times, to the patriarch, his children, his collateral relations and his servants. According to his understanding of the term we can include in our family those only whom we are bound by the laws

that regulate social ethics to maintain. Of all those who come under this category he mentions *servants*, to the exclusion of collateral relatives; but with what propriety he does so we leave it entirely with our readers to determine. In another place the writer has inferred from the law by which a Hindu brother has prior rights over the estate of his deceased brother who used to live in common with him, in preference to the dead brother's widow's claims to her late husband's property, that our legislators in enacting this law, were under some bias in favour of joint family. We believe on the other hand that the legislators in so enacting were guided by a right principle of law. Let it not be understood that we are wanting in sympathy for the widow; we clearly recognize and strongly uphold her claims to maintenance and maintenance only as long as the state of things continue unaltered in native society. Our views in respect of this part of the law of inheritance are decidedly against the joint system. We know that this system has many advantages of its own, but its disadvantages are far greater. It sets a very high premium on indolence, and over and above this it does away with the most valuable possession of man—his power of thinking and acting freely. Further on, the writer is very hard upon the law because of its enforcing parents to discharge proper duties to their children, without making any provisions on behalf of the former; as the latter prove refractory. But if we once stop to weigh it, it even balance the relations which subsist between a father and a son, we shall see that the legislators acted here in the truest spirit of justice possible. Law cannot call upon a man to be grateful for the benefits received; but it has every right to guard him, by sanctions, against committing acts that might injure others' privileges, or endanger their lives, or affect their social position. No sooner is a child born than its father at once takes upon his shoulders the legal obligations to take care of its life and give it a suitable education that may ensure for it a happy future; and all that the son has to return for all this care and education is gratitude which it is beyond the province of jurisprudence to enforce.

After all that we have said it is hardly necessary for us to add that we have been pleased with the journal. We wish it every success.

2. GENERAL LITERATURE.

Men whom India has Known: Biographies of Eminent Indian Characters. By J. Higginbotham. Second Edition. Madras: Higginbotham and Co. 1874.

THE Second Edition of this useful little work will be hailed with pleasure by all students of Indian history and by all

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• ART. I.—THE PRIMITIVE ARYANS.

- 1.—*Les Migrations des Peuples et particulièrement celle des Touraniens.* Par Ch. E. de Ujfalvy de Mezö-kövesd: *Paris*, 1873.
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- 4.—*Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History, applied to Language and Religion.* By Christian Charles Josias Buusen. *London*, 1854.

THE RACE of whom it is proposed to give a brief sketch in this paper belonged to a period of remote antiquity, far away from the range of authentic history. Its very existence has to be proved by a process of regular induction, and much that can be said of it is purely conjectural, dark, hazy, faint, and indistinct. Hence it is most likely that the cloud of doubt and uncertainty which hangs over the subject, will, to a great extent, cast its shadow on these pages. Where materials for judgment are so imperfect, it is but natural that conclusions drawn from them must be more or less dubious. The subject, however, is of engrossing interest, concerning, as it does, the early history of the most progressive branch of the human race; and in connexion with it even a *résumé* of the more important theories and conjectures which have recently got into currency will not be without its use.

The researches of comparative anatomists, of comparative philologists, and of comparative mythologists during the present century, have effected a complete revolution in the treatment and classification of the human race. The claims of all the old patriarchs have been set aside; and even the terminology, which used to be employed in treating of the subject, has been all but entirely rejected. This revolution is particularly remarkable with

reference to the origin of the leading races of Europe, and of some of the nations of Asia. The Greeks, the Romans, the Teutons, the Celts, the Wallachians and the Icelanders, who differ so widely from each other in those respects which constitute distinctive ethnic peculiarities, are all now believed to be the issues of the same primitive stock from which have descended the Ostiaks of Circassia, the Iranians of Persia, the Patháns of the Hindu Kush, and the Bráhmánic tribes of India. However startling the statement may appear to persons who have not studied the subject, the fact is believed by those who have studied it, to be as incontrovertible as that two and two make four; and justly has Professor Max Müller observed that "there is not an English jury now-a-days, which, after examining the hoary documents of language, would reject the claim of a common descent and a legitimate relationship between Hindu, Greek, and Teuton."

The first idea of a common origin of these races is due to Dr. Pritchard; who, after examining the characters of a number of skulls of various races and tribes, came to the conclusion, that the Circassians represented the stem, from which had branched off most of the nations of Europe and some of Asia. The number of skulls he had to examine were necessarily few and insufficient, and the conclusion which he and his disciples arrived at, though generally received as probable, failed to command implicit and universal belief.

Next came the philologists, with Francis Bopp at their head; and after a tedious and protracted study of the morphology and grammar of the languages spoken by the different races concerned, came to the opinion that they were closely related to each other. To follow and unweave the intricate process of ratiocination by which this conclusion was arrived at would require more time and space than we can afford within the small compass of this essay. Nor need the attempt be made. Philology now ranks with the foremost of sciences, and it is, therefore, not at all necessary to tire the patience of the reader by entering into a comparison of a long string of words to prove the fact. The names of Grimm and Bopp, of William von Humboldt and Max Müller, are amply sufficient to convince him that the investigation made has been thorough and searching, and that the deduction is the legitimate consequence of the facts brought to light. It may still be not without interest to point out the principle which has been followed in working out the discovery. Those who are familiar with the French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian languages, know well how closely related they are to each other. It is also well known that this relationship is not one of descent, but of fraternity. The French is not descended from the Italian, nor the Spanish from the French, nor the Portuguese from the Spanish language; but they all are

produced by a process of gradual decay and regeneration of the Latin tongue. Now, the philologists have discovered that the Greek, the Latin, and the Teutonic languages are related to the Sanskrit and the ancient Persian exactly in the same way as the aforesaid European languages are related to each other ; or, in other words, they are sisters, all descended from a common stock. This relationship is not at first sight well apparent. Letters are liable to change in process of time, and under altered physical conditions and other causes affecting the human voice. There is also a spirit of economy constantly exerting to pare and clip hard-sounding words and render them soft and easy of pronunciation ; and to join different words, and wear them down into handy little compounds. These changes, however, take place under strict natural laws common all over the world ; and the philologists, having discovered them, are in a position to demonstrate, step by step, the various changes which languages have undergone from the earliest times to our day.

It may be asked, why should letters change ?—and it may not be easy to answer the question, except in a round-about way which the reader may not care to follow. But that they do change, none will for a moment deny. Take the letter *v*. It is well known that it hardens in some mouths into *b*, and softens in others into *w* or *u*. When the renowned dame Sarah Camp talks of the “wale of tears” none doubts that she means the vale of tears. In the same way when my Lord Dundreary “theeth a thee thowpent thwimming on the thea,” few have any difficulty in making out that he talks of the sea-serpent swimming on the sea ; but the general reader would scarcely be disposed to believe that he does this according to a natural law by which *s* and *th* are interchangeable. Let him, however, take the mediæval *hath* changed into *has* in our day, and he will at once admit that my Lord Dundreary is, as befits his conservatism, using the *th* in the place of *s*, though he may not be aware of it. The aspiration of the initial *a* and the softening of the initial *h*, so characteristic of the Cockney, are familiar to Englishmen ; so are peculiarities of the Irish and broad Scotch pronunciation ; though very few persons take them to be the result of natural laws. Yet, if they be written down phonetically they will produce quite new languages. The philologists take note of these changes, and, deducing rules therefrom, apply them in solving questions regarding little-known and unknown tongues. The success with which this process of induction and analogy has been carried out is wonderful, and words apparently the most dissimilar have been, by it, demonstrated to be the same. The most remarkable instance of this occurs in the identity of the familiar English domestic pet term Nelly with the Vedic Saranî. No two words

could be more unlike each other, and there is not a single letter common to both; yet, construed by the rules of philological science, they have been demonstrated to be unmistakably the same. The credit of this demonstration is due to Professor Max Müller, and he has worked out the problem in a manner that leaves nothing to be desired.

Every educated Englishman knows well that Nelly is but a corruption, or transposition, of the syllables of Ellen, and that Ellen is a corruption of Helen. Now, the hard aspiration of the *s* is a common occurrence, and there are many examples of the initials of the Sanskrit changing into *h* in Greek; the liquid *r* also frequently melts into *l*, and there are several Sanskrit words which are written indifferently with either *r* or *l*.* Take for instance the Sanskrit word *úrmi* changed in Greek into *ἐλμίω*; Sanskrit *rak*, Greek *λεucas*; Sanskrit *rik*, Greek *λεπω*. Accept these changes and you have Saramá changed into Halamá. Omit the final *á* as the feminine affix in Sanskrit not required in Greek, and alter *m* into *n*, a change also very frequent in Greek,† and you have Halan. Now comes the vowel *a*; and with reference to it I have to observe that words which in Sanskrit have *a*, often take in Greek and Latin *e* or *i* or *o*; thus Sanskrit *das'ani* is Greek *δέκα*, Latin *decem*; Sanskrit *par*, Greek *παρῆς*, Latin *plenius*; Sanskrit *gagana*, Greek *γεγονα*; Sanskrit *manas*, Greek *μενος*, Latin *minus*, &c.; and if we apply this rule to Halan it becomes Helen, and Saramá the type of Nelly.

However ingenious, this is doubtless a very intricate process. But the philologists have not to resort to it often. In many cases the comparisons are easier and simpler; and yet it should be carefully borne in mind that there must be in the vast majority of instances some change or alteration explainable only by the laws of philology, for we may rest assured that in ninety-nine cases out of every hundred, when we find a word exactly alike in Greek and Sanskrit, it is not the same word. This is easily accounted for; the growth of language, like that of plants or animals, must be influenced by climatic and other causes; and it is impossible, therefore, that the result of such growth in two such widely different climates as those of Greece and India should be the same. The laws which regulate the growth of language, or in other words, of phonetic decay and dialectic regeneration are well known; and with their aid it is

* We have a parallel case in English in which *Mary* becomes *Moll*, the *r* changing into *l*.

† Thus, the *m* of the Sanskrit accusative in Greek masculine and feminine vocalic stems, with the solitary exception of those ending in *ov*, always becomes *ν*. *εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν*, *πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν*,

μάντιν, νεκρὸν, ἄγρὸν, φηγὸν, &c. As a final but not an accusative case-mark it also changes into *η* in Greek; thus Sanskrit *adipati*, Greek *ἑπίτρον*, Sanskrit *padam*, Greek *πόδων*, Sanskrit *dhām*, Greek *Θαῦ, ἐδάμον*.

easy to demonstrate the similitude between the Greek and the Sanskrit languages.

Nor are these similitudes the results of accidental coincidences. "The terms for God, for house, for father, mother, son, daughter, for dog and cow, for heart and tears, for axe and tree," are so intimately associated with our domestic existence—we learn them so early in our infancy—and retain them in mind with such earnest attachment, we regard them with such intense interest as household words, that it would be preposterous to suppose that any nation would change them for the sake of a change, or for any reason whatever; and their identity in so many different languages, living and thriving under widely different social, moral, and physical conditions, cannot reasonably be accepted as the result of an accident. The fact points to the languages in which they occur being descended from one common parent. In the case of the Romance languages we have the Latin as the parent; but as regards the Asiatic and European languages, in which this relationship exists, there is no language extant to which we can readily appeal, and yet from analogy the existence of such a language at one time or other in the history of man must be admitted.

And if we admit a primitive language as the parent of the Greek, the Latin, and the Teutonic languages on the one hand, and of the Sanskrit, the Zend, and the Ostiak on the other, we must also admit that the different peoples who speak those languages are related to each other by blood, and descended from a common stock. A language could not spread over so vast a tract as the best portion of Europe and a good part of Asia, without the nation which spoke it spreading likewise. The Hindus here can learn English and French indifferently at best, but still they can; and people in Europe have learnt to read and write in many foreign languages; but neither the Hindus nor Europeans have accepted a foreign language for a vernacular. There is no instance in history in which one nation has voluntarily accepted the language of another in lieu of its own; nor is a process known by which a language can be acclimatised. The Negroes in the Southern States of North America, doubtless, speak the English language as their vernacular; but it implies the existence among them of a dominant race of Englishmen, and their isolation from their parent stock; and even then their English is as different from that of their masters, as the modern English is from that of the time of King John. Associated with their parent stock in South Africa, the Caffres, notwithstanding their mixing freely with Europeans, have not exchanged their vernacular for one from Europe; and even the remnant of the miserable race of humanity which once peopled Australia, have not accepted the

English in lieu of their own imperfect medium of speech.* The hypothesis, therefore, must at once be conceded that there was not only a primitive language from which Indo-European languages have descended, but also a primitive race which spread that language over different parts of the earth.

To turn now to the comparative mythologists. Their researches show that the various tales and stories of gods and demons, which governed the intellect of the ancient Greeks, Romans, and Teutons, have their counterparts in the mythology of the Hindus; and that in many instances even the very names of their gods and demons are common to all of them. The æthereal expanse over our heads, which first inspired man with a sense of a God above, received in the earliest Veda the name of Varuna; and by an easy transition it also became the name of the One God, the Maker and Supreme Governor of all things. We have the counterpart of this Hindu Varuna in the Ouranus of the Greek Mythology; and even as Ouranus was deposed by Zeus in Greece so was Varuna by Dyaus in the Vedic legend, and relegated to a subordinate position as the regent of the waters.

The Eastern sky at early dawn is the most charming object in nature, and many an allegory has been elaborated in connexion with it. The dawn is as resplendent in the clear blue sky of Greece as it is in India, and it need excite no wonder that there should be myths formed about it in both countries; but that all the myths so formed should be alike, and their principal figures should have the same names, imply a community of origin of the myths which cannot easily be denied. The heroine of the stories must be the dawn, aptly represented as a charming maiden, and her names in the Rig Veda are Arjuni, Brisaya, Dahana, Ushas, Saramâ, and Saranyu, and all these names re-appear among the Greeks as Argyrouis, Briseis, Daphne, Eos, Helen, and Erynys. In the Veda, Panis, a wicked monster, is said to have tempted Saramâ to be unfaithful to Indra. Among the Greeks Paris tempted Helen, whence arose the myth which inspired the blind old bard of Scio's isle with the tale of Troy.† A no less immortal bard in India sang of the same tale in his renowned Rāmâyana. One of the great exploits of Indra, was the destruction of the serpent-shaped Vritra who had stolen the rain-producing clouds of heaven: and the Greeks sang of the mighty deed of then

* The language of the Gypsies too offers a remarkable instance of the vitality of a mother tongue under the most trying circumstances.

† We must beg Dr. Schleimann's pardon for still maintaining the mythical character of the siege of Troy. His discoveries are highly

interesting, but it still remains to be proved that the chest, caskets, jewels and pateras he has found are identically the same with which old Priam was trying to scale the walls of Troy at the time of their fall, and that the remains of walls he has seen really belonged to Troy.

Apollo in piercing to death with his lance the demon Python. The demon re-appears as the Sphinx in the story of Œdipus, as the dragon in the story of Perseus, as the Zohak in the mythology of Persia, and in a number of other myths Indian and European. Even the name of Vritra is not lost in Greece, for we have it in Ortheros, who guards the gates of Hades attended by Cerberus, the Vedic Sarvara. Manu, the father of mankind and the first-born of Prajapati, re-appears in the Kretan legends as Minos son of Zeus. A host of other instances may be easily cited; but as it is not my object now to discourse on comparative mythology, I must pass them by. Those adduced will give a fair idea of the kind of similitude which the myths of ancient Europe and India bear to each other.

It is no doubt true that stories may be easily borrowed from one nation by another; and, *ipso facto*, their similitude does not yield any data for ethnic deductions. Modern novels afford the most conclusive proof that such borrowing goes on, acknowledged or unacknowledged, to an enormous extent without any necessary race amalgamations; and the Persian, Arabic, and European versions of the Pancha Tantra show that the same thing happened likewise in former times. But there is no analogy between the myths under notice and the Fables of Pilpay or the modern novels. The latter are avowed fictions, whereas the former preserve the ancient traditions of the people and the recollections of their forefathers and their gods, and are intimately associated with all that is sacred and holy in the annals of the race. They are cherished with all the enthusiasm of devotion which the halo of antiquity can claim for the past glories of a nation, and which anxiety for the welfare of the present time, and for the prospects of a future life can influence the action of mankind. They are ingrained with the intellectual existence of the different races concerned, and cannot be foreign to them.

Admitting, then, on the evidence of anatomy, philology and mythology that there was in former times a primitive race of men, from which have descended the several nations who speak the Indo-European languages; the questions arise, who were the men?—and where did they live?

To frame our replies to these queries we have only traditions for our guide.

The Greeks point towards the east for the abode of their gods, and so do the Romans; and this would suggest the idea that they came to Europe from the east, for the nations of antiquity believed themselves to be the descendants of their gods, and consequently it may fairly be taken for granted that the country of their gods was likewise the country of their original ancestors. The east here referred to, however, did not, as far as we know at present,

extend beyond Mount Olympus, or Asia Minor, which could not have been the original seat of the race in question, because the Parsis, who are likewise the descendants of the same race, point to the east, and that takes us far away from Asia Minor. The inference, therefore, is that, travelling from the east of Persia, the colony which peopled Greece halted for some time in Asia Minor, and that Greek tradition stops short at that place, and has lost all remembrance of countries to the east of it. To the east of Persia we have Central Asia and Afghānistān; but the Hindus, when dwelling in the valley of the Five Waters, pointed to the north as their heaven. This could not be said of Afghānistān, which was to their west. Now if we draw a line to the north from the Panjāb, it will run over the Kailās range; and a line from it towards Persia will cross over that tract of Central Asia which generally appears in modern maps under the name of Independent Tartary. It comprises a series of plateaux, or elevated plains, watered by the Amu Daryā and the Murghāb, and bounded by the Caspian Sea on the west, the Hindu Kush on the south, the Kailās range on the east, and the Kizilkum, and other sandy deserts on the north. The principal countries, of the present day are mostly Turanian or Turkoman, including the large towns along the line of Balkh, Samarkand, Mishid, and Herat. In ancient times it comprised Scythia, or the country of the Sakas, on the east, that of the Mesagetæ in the north, and Sogdiana, Angaria, Aspasiakæ, Thomani, Kanthi, Hyrcania, Parthia, Marghiana and others in the middle, west, and south. A portion of this tract must, therefore, be accepted as the *officina gentium* whence issued forth, in the dawn of history, swarms of men whose descendants now constitute the most civilised nations of the earth.

The tract above defined is very large; and to point to a portion of it is to leave matters quite undecided. I must, therefore, try to trace the *locale* by first ascertaining the name of the people under notice. This name is to be sought for in the scriptures of the Parsis, and of the Hindus. The oldest Veda dates, according to the most moderate calculation, from fourteen to sixteen hundred years before the commencement of the Christian era, and some of the most ancient hymns are considerably older. The Hindus reckon their age by millions of years. The age of the Zendavesta is quite as uncertain. Zoroaster, the author of that work, according to ancient writers, lived at a remote period of antiquity. Pliny compares him with Moses, and makes him a predecessor of Moses by many thousand years (Hist. Nat. XXX. 2). Aristotle and Herodotus place him 6,000 years before Plato. A Babylonian historian, Berosus by name, describes him as a King of Babylon who reigned over two thousand years before Christ. Xanthos of Lydia (470 B.C.) the earliest Grecian writer who has noticed him, believes that he flourished

600 years before the Trojan war. These dates are, it is true, all open to question ; but, Dr. Martin Haug, who notices these references, and whose researches into Zend literature and history have been the most thorough and exhaustive of any, is of opinion that "under no circumstances can we assign to Zoroaster a later date than 1000, B.C."; and he is "even not disinclined to place his era much earlier, and make him a contemporary of Moses." Any how the Rigveda Sanhitá and the Zendavesta are the only works extant that can carry us as far back towards our early ancestors as we can possibly expect, and their testimony in this respect must be accepted as conclusive. It is true that in many respects the statements of those works are improbable, or questionable ; but there is no reason to doubt that the names of places, persons, and things, preserved in them are genuine relics of their ancient nomenclature. Now, both these records are at one in calling the ancestors of their respective authors by the same name. The Vedic Hindus called themselves *A'ryas*, and the tract in which they settled themselves in India has the distinctive name of *A'ryadesa*. The counterpart of the last word occurs in the Yaçna as *Airyadagya* ; and in the Vendidad Sade the word *Arieno-viijo* stands for the home of the ancestors of Zoroaster. The *A'rya-desa* or *A'ryá-vartha* of Manu is bounded on the north by the Himálayá, and on the south by the Vindhyan chain, leaving the west undefined ; and in his time and for a long period after it, it is well-known the Hindus occupied a great portion of Afghanistan, and so among them the name *A'rya* most probably extended as far as that country.

The word is derived from a root implying ploughing ; and it is to be thence inferred that the agriculturists, who were doubtless the most advanced in civilisation of the race, adopted it as their tribal designation, and others subsequently followed their example, and the term became the name of the entire race ; and as such it was interpreted to mean 'honorable' or 'noble' ; and the nations and tribes who assumed it as their race name, prided themselves upon their being the nobles among men. In the Rig Veda the word occurs nine times ; and always to indicate the Bráhmánic tribes in contradistinction to the *A'rárya*, or the ignoble, race which surrounded them. Darius calls himself, in one of his cuneiform inscriptions, "an Aryan and of Aryan descent" ; and in the Behistun inscription Ahuránazda, the great God of the Zoroastrians, is styled "the God of the Aryans." The Sassanian kings called themselves the kings of "Aryan and Unaryan Races," and the whole of Persia has for a long time borne the name of Irán. The Greek writers of old also frequently employed the term Aryan as a tribal designation. In Herodotus the Medes are described as a tribe of the *Arie*, who resided somewhere about the neigh-

bourhood of modern Herat, a name which is generally believed to be derived from that of the forefathers of the Medes. Passing from the original home of the Aryans, the word occurs to the north-west of Persia in *Armenia* and *Albania*;—to the north of Persia on the Caucases as *Iron*, the native name of the Ostiaks, the Circassian race of Pritchard; and on the bank of the Vistula as the name of a German tribe. The trail is still apparent in *Hellenes* as a corruption of Aryan; but further west we miss it until we reach the westernmost limit of the Aryan migration. To such of my readers as hail from Erin Mavourneen it will not be a small surprise that the name of their dearly loved native country is the same as that which the ancestors of the Hindus assigned to their own country. Ireland is no other than an English version of the India *A'ryadesa* or *A'ryaland*. The old word in Ireland was *eren* or *herin*, in the genitive *ereun* or *hereun*, whence *Erin* and *Hibern* or *Hibernicos*. Thus the word *A'rya* in some form or other appears to have been the name of the race. And if the tribal name may be associated with the original home of the race, seeing that such was the case almost invariably in ancient times, that home must have been situated along the Hindu Kush, or the tract to the south of a line extending from Herat to Balkh and the western slopes of the Belurtag and Mustag, near the sources of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, where Greek writers trace the site of ancient Aria.

George Rawlinson, in one of his essays on Herodotus, admits that "the great migration of the Aryan race westward from beyond the Indus, simultaneous probably with the movement of a kindred people, the progenitors of the modern Hindus, eastward and southward to the Ganges and the Vindhya mountain range, is an event of which the most sceptical criticism need not doubt; remote though it be, and obscurely seen through the long vista of intervening centuries. Where two entirely distinct lines of national tradition converge to a single point, and that convergence is exactly what philological research, in the absence of tradition, would have indicated, it seems impossible to suppose either coincidence or collusion among the witnesses."* But he is of opinion, "in the silence of authentic history, Armenia may be regarded as the most probable centre from which the Indo-European nations spread."† This hypothesis is, however, in direct conflict with the Parsi and the Hindu traditions above noticed, and is opposed to the opinion of men like Max Müller, Martin Haug, Wilson, and others who have devoted special attention to the subject, and whose authority carries the greatest weight.

It should be remarked here that the *Aria*, or ancient home

* Herodotus, I, p. 326.

† Ibid, p. 505.

of the Aryans as noticed above, is distinct from the *Ariana* of Strabo and other later Greek writers, which comprised the whole of Afghánistán and Beluchistán, being bounded on the north by the Hindu Kush; on the south by the sea from the mouths of the Indus to the Persian Gulf; on the east by the Indus; and on the west by Persia. This tract comprised the ancient Gedrosia, Drangiana, Arachosia, Karmania, and a portion of Parthia. Its name is due most probably to the early extension of the Aryans to Afghánistán, but it was not the *locale* of their original dwelling. This fact has not always been borne in mind by some authors, and many gross mistakes have been the consequence.

The time when the Aryans confined themselves to the country north of the Hindu Kush must date considerably over five thousand years from our day. That at that time their habits, manners, customs and religion were of a very primitive type, must be obvious. It would seem from references in the *Zendavesta* that their community was divided into three castes or tribes, of which one lived by hunting, another by tending flocks of cattle, and the third by agriculture. In an early state of existence this three-fold division is the most probable. It implies a settled state of society considerably ahead of the primitive life of the occupiers of the lake habitations of Switzerland, but much behind that of the period which produced the caste-system of the Egyptians or the Hindus. To translate the language of M. Flotard, "the life of the hunter was hard, rude and more or less violent; that of the shepherd inactive, slothful and nomadic; that of the agriculturist stable, normal and regular. The hunter and the shepherd were under the necessity of moving about in quest of game or fresh pasturage, and easily moveable dwellings or tents were best suited to their requirements; the agriculturist remained attached to his field, built solid and fixed houses, and cultivated in his mind a profound sentiment of respect for religion and morality. The family and the tribe were the most dear to the nomads; but the nation, the people, the country and the city claimed the greatest consideration from the agriculturists." The arts of civilised life had so far been cultivated that the people could prepare fabrics of some kind or other from the wool of their flocks, and manufacture pottery and arms to some extent. Gold and golden ornaments are frequently mentioned both in the *Vedas* and the *Zendavesta*, and these were probably not unknown in the primitive homes of the Aryans. Copper and iron too were known and used; the latter probably but sparingly, as it could not then be worked to any extent; but that it was known at a very early period is certain, for the Hellenic races did carry a knowledge of it from *Aria*, as the name of the metal is the same in the Greek and the Sanskrit languages.

Furs, skins and woollen fabrics constituted the only materials

for clothing ; and the three castes, it is to be presumed, dressed very much alike, the nature of the climate they lived in having been opposed to a life of nudity. It may be fairly presumed that they were more profusely clothed than the gymnosophists of old, and the bulk of the Hindus in subsequent times.

In their food the three tribes necessarily differed widely, the hunters depending mainly on flesh meat, the shepherds and the agriculturists on the produce of the fields, supplemented by milk, with an occasional allowance of meat ; for it must be borne in mind that many persons must have united in themselves the double profession of the shepherd and the agriculturist, and the produce of their flocks contributed to their living both on milk and flesh meat. Fermented drinks were also well-known and partaken of, more largely by the hunters and shepherds than by the agriculturists, who in all countries and at all times are noted for their sobriety. The principal beverage of this class was the Soma beer ; but arrack or undistilled fermented wheat or barley, which constituted the *surá* of the Vedic hymns, and is known under the name of arrack or *pacháwi* in our day, was also held in requisition.

A priori it might be argued that the Vedic Sanskrit with all its refinements and its numerous moods and tenses, could not have been developed by a primitive nation such as the Aryans were between four and five thousand years ago. But the facts disclosed by the researches of the philologists leave no room for doubt that the language of the Aryans had passed from the agglutinative to an inflectional state at a very early period, and much of the refinement and elaborate conjugational apparatus of the Vedic Sanskrit had been formed long before the Hellenic tribes had left the common home. The grammar of the Greek language could not have been so closely like that of the ancient Sanskrit had not the two descended from a single source. There was a common type from which one series of changes produced the Vedic language, and another series the Hellenic dialects. Nor is the co-existence of an elaborate and complicate system of inflections, conjugations, prefixes and suffixes at all incompatible with a primitive state of society. The highest number of changes which a verb undergoes in Sanskrit is limited to a little over two hundred and fifty, whereas in some of the languages of the American Indians it rises to thousands. In one of the North American dialects the total number of changes which each radical is subjected to amounts to seven thousand five hundred, and if that does not militate against a very rude state of society among the tribe which speaks it, we need not be startled at two hundred and odd in the ancient Aryan.

Judging from the various myths extant, the conclusion is inevitable that the ancient Aryans did indulge much in poetry, and that metrical compositions of various kinds were current among

them. Prosody was very carefully studied, and rules were laid down for a variety of metres, which were regularly named and classed. Many of these still exist in the hymns of the Rig Ved and in the gáthás and other forms of poetry in the Zendavesta; and they evince considerable taste and refinement. These doubtless are all religious compositions, but there are not wanting evidences in them of secular compositions; such for instance is the song in the Rig Veda in which a dice-player bemoans his losses by gambling.

It is evident, however, that these metrical compositions were not originally written, and the Aryans knew not the art of writing. Had they done so, the alphabets of the different Aryan races would have preserved some traces of it; but they do not. The ancient Greek letters differ entirely from the ancient Persian and Sanskrit writings, and the orders in which the letters are classed in the three languages are perfectly independent of each other. Viewed in connexion with the similitude which exists among the languages themselves this is a remarkable fact, and it leaves no room for doubt in the conclusion that has been drawn from it.

The remains of their languages afford incontestible evidence of the Aryans having cultivated the laws of morality and civil polity to a considerable extent. The law of marriage was early established, and the ties of blood most scrupulously respected. The extent to which marriage among blood-relations was forbidden was greater even than what is observed in civilised nations in the present day. The rights of property and inheritance were also fully recognised; and theft, robbery, and fraud were punished by well established and fixed rules. A strong sense of right and wrong, of virtue and vice, was a prevailing characteristic of their moral life; and abundant evidence is at hand to show that they led an honest, truthful and law-abiding career, guided by elders, chiefs, and kings, to whom they paid great respect, and whose orders they carried out with diligence.

The existence of kings implies a settled state of government; and the mention of taxes, or the contributions of the people for its maintenance and for the common weal, is a clear indication of a political condition far in advance of a very primitive sort of life.

But the most important feature of their civilisation was their religion. Turning their minds from the requirements of their social existence, the Aryans early speculated largely in matters supernatural. "The lowest savages," says Sir John Lubbock, "have no idea of a deity at all. Those slightly more advanced regard him as an enemy to be dreaded, but who may be resisted with a fair prospect of success; who may be cheated by the cunning, and defied by the strong. Thus the natives of the Nicobar island endeavour to terrify their deity by scarecrows, and the

Negro beats his fetish' if his prayers are not granted. As tribes advance in civilisation their deities advance in dignity, but their power is still limited; one governs the sea, another the 'land; one reigns over the plains, another among the mountains. The most powerful are vindictive, cruel, and unjust. They require humiliating ceremonies and bloody sacrifices." That the earliest Aryans, like the lowest savages of our day, had no idea of God at all may be easily conceived; that they subsequently believed in cruel and vindictive gods or spirits whom they dreaded, and tried to cheat by cunning, may also be granted. The numerous gods and goddesses who people the Hindu and the Greek pantheons leave no doubt as to their having subsequently created a host of divinities presiding over the different elements, and natural phenomena; a regent over the dry earth, and another over the waters; a regent of the air, and a regent of the sky; a god to preside over love, and another to be the arbiter of the battle-field; one to judge of the living, another to judge of the dead. But all this implies a previous awakening of the religious sentiment—of a sense of the divine—of a yearning for a knowledge of the supernatural, apart from the worship of spirits whom men dread, and whose malevolence they wish to appease. With such a sentiment awakened the fire below, the sun above, the stars that bespangle the firmament, the elements whose commotion are so portentous of good or evil, are the principal objects which attract the attention of man. In them he beholds, according to his light, either the primary causes of all things, or the visible emblems of the unknown Great Cause. But when the religious faculty is once quickened, the human mind cannot rest satisfied with the idea of the elements themselves being the end it sought. No person can feel that the breeze that fans his face, or the tangible fire that cooks his food, or the avalanche that hurls down death and desolation from the mountain-top, is itself the living sentient cause of creation, or vital phenomena. Something more is wanted, a sentient substratum for the material emblem; and as the spirit apart from the body but dwelling within the body, is manifest to man in his own person, he vivifies the sun, moon, and stars, the trees of the forest, and the waters of the sea, the earth he inhabits, and the sky over his head, each with a separate vital spark; and according to the extent to which this process is carried, religion becomes fetishism, sabeism, pantheism, or polytheism. In the earlier states of such a religion the gods are necessarily vague, undefined, and impersonal, pertaining the character of the religious sentiments which create them; but the mind, once roused, is never satisfied with such hazy creations, and soon endows each spirit with a separate form and attributes befitting its emblem, and polytheism is the result. Next comes

deification of poetical imagery, or individualisation of metaphors and allegories, and lastly the apotheosis of heroes and patriarchs, completing the gallery of the spiritual pantheon. There is a spirit of anthropomorphism in all this; and the affairs of the earth are reproduced in heaven with such exaggerations and alterations as the mind engaged in the task is capable of, and this human idea of heaven ultimately creates a necessity for a king. That king is God, be he adored in unity, in trinity, or in multiplicity.

Thus religion owes its origin to a faculty that is within us, and to a sentiment founded on moral ties; a yearning for the unknown, which is spontaneous in its birth and thrives capriciously of its own accord, though governed by advancing civilisation. The conception is *sui generis*, and has its own allotted course. But "even as the idea of absolute beauty is the base of art, and the idea of good is the foundation of morality and justice, so from this idea of divinity proceed all religion, all worship, all adoration. It is the embryo which contains in germ all systems of religion, which burst forth from it diversely according to circumstances"; and the question in connexion with my theme is how and to what extent did it develop among the Aryans? I have already shown that it had manifested itself in the form of polytheism: But it did not stop there. Among some of the people it remained as fetishism or sabcism, among others it was polytheism, while others rose above the gods and goddesses of their pantheon, and conceived and believed in the existence of an omnipotent, omniscient, and beneficent being, the creator and ruler of all—of one Supreme God whose mercy and grace they sought by prayers and solemn hymns. This belief in the unity of the Godhead formed a cardinal point in their creed, and they adhered to it with all the tenacity of their faith under very different and trying circumstances. It seems, however, not to have attained the fixity and uncompromising firmness with which the Vedantic pantheist announced "One Alone without a second." The conception of the One Supreme arising out of the many subordinate divinities, did not preclude the existence of the latter. They were gods of lower ranks, but nevertheless they were gods, supreme in their respective spheres. Zoroaster, with his ardent monotheistic zeal, and implacable hatred of the Vedic system of gods and goddesses, could not get rid of them altogether, when completing his reformation of the ancient faith. He changed them into angels or spirits, good and bad, but could not entirely repudiate their existence. Other founders and reformers of religious codes of former times, found the same difficulty, and had to submit to a compromise of some kind or other. The Vedas rose as high as possible when they said: "God was one alone

without a second," and His divine reflection vivified all living beings, whether gods, demons or mundane creatures, thus creating a wide gulf between the creator and the created; but they nowhere denied or repudiated the existence of the subordinate Devas. Even Muhammad, the most inveterate champion of divine unity, who proclaimed with all the energy of his ardent enthusiasm "there is no god but God, and Muhammad is his prophet," had to permit a celestial hierarchy of angels and archangels to carry out the behests of the Supreme Divinity, and it is not to be supposed that the primitive Aryans in their original home did more, and believed in a Unity, implying a total abnegation of all other celestial existences—one sole cause of the creation without any intermediate divine or celestial agencies. That they believed in a Supreme God is evident from the Zendavesta and the myths which they have bequeathed to their descendants in India, Persia, and Greece.

M. Flotard, on whose interesting work on the "Primitive Religion of the Indo-Europeans," I have so often indented in course of this essay, says that the name of this Supreme Being was always the same among the Aryan tribes, but that it changed as often as the idea of that Being was modified. "What the changes were we cannot make out, for, one new attribute added to the name of a divinity, one proper name modified, indicates an entire religious transformation in primitive times;" and it is impossible to draw any conclusion from records avowedly posterior to what existed long before they were compiled. Agni, Yama or Yima, Kavi, Mitra, Indra, Asura or (Ahura) Vahumano, Mazdaha appear to have been applied to him at one time or other, but it is impossible now to ascertain their order.

Nor were the attributes assigned to the Great Spirit always the same. "The warrior and hunter tribes," says our author, "took him to be cruel, warlike, and fond of carnage; among the shepherds he preserves something of his bellicose character, but he is at the same time a spirit, 'protector of flocks,' an epithet applied to several divinities by the Vedas and the Yagna. For the agriculturists this god, the source of all life, and of all fecundity, was the hidden and divine spirit which presides over the labours of the field, protecting the property and the welfare of the cultivators." (p. 139.)

"As to the form under which the Aryans represented this Supreme divinity there appears to have existed a certain amount of unity among them. They all equally beheld in fire and in light a representation or manifestation of the Divinity. The flame, in all its forms, that of a spark ejected from two pieces of wood rubbed against each other, or majestically scintillating from the stars suspended from the celestial vault, was for them an image of the divinity."

"However, here again was manifested the diversity of the genius and imagination of the tribes; for whilst some saw in fire, in light, in the sun, the Divinity itself, or at least its exterior representative, which they worshipped under the names of Agni, Mitra, Vivasvan; others of a more elevated intellect and spiritual character considered the fire only as a means or manifestation of divine revelation. It is specially under this attribute that the Iranians rendered their worship to the fire: for them Ahura and truth revealed themselves through the flame." (p. 139.)

But even more important than the fire was the sun—that visible emblem of the invisible Divinity. To it they looked up with the profoundest veneration, as the author of life and light, and never ceased to offer it their most fervent worship. Religious differences and dogmatic philosophy gradually led to the ranks of the other gods being raised or lowered, but the sun never lost an atom of its glory as the most sacred emblem of the Divinity. Both the Persians and the Hindus continued, long after their separation, and still continue, to look upon it as the greatest God. The latter went further, and apprehensive, lest its rising and setting should detract from its glory, denied that it ever rose or set.*

The form of worship was simple and primitive; "it was celebrated by hymns and prayers accompanied by the offering of the products of the flocks and the fruits of the earth near the family hearth, or on the altars of the lawn. For many centuries no monuments, needed to serve as an asylum for the simple manifestations of the religious aspirations of the heart. The universe was the only temple worthy the grandeur of the Supreme Being; the vault of heaven was the only shelter for the ceremonies celebrated in His honour by the chief of the family, who was the high-priest, the foremost chanter, and the first prophet of the divinity. It would have been a sin to represent the creator by the combination of art, or of human imagination; it would have been a sacrilege to make any material representation of the divine powers. The general character of this cultus in this religious age, which may be rightly designated

* The passage in which this denial is made, is a remarkable one as it was conceived on the Copernican idea of the solar system, at least two thousand years before the birth of Copernicus. It runs thus: "The sun does never set or rise. When people think the sun is setting (it is not so) for after having arrived at the end of the day it makes itself produce two opposite effects, making night to what is below, and day to what is on the other side. When

they believe it rises in the morning (its supposed rising is thus to be accounted for) Having reached the end of the night it makes itself produce two opposite effects, making day to what is below and night to what is on the other side. In fact the sun never sets. Nor does it set for him who has such a knowledge. Such a one becomes united with the sun, assumes its form, and enters its place." Haug's *Aitareya Brâhmana*, p. 212.

by the title of the *Primitive Church*, and of which we find traces in the traditions of all the nations of the earth, was the absence of temples, of idols, and of religious monuments of every kind. This usage, this thought of the patriarchal world, became subsequently the subject of positive prescriptions, and the religious canon of the Hebrews announced especially and in terms precise and solemn: "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down thyself, nor serve them." (p. 135.)

The belief seems to have been general that this Divine Being was opposed by certain malevolent spirits who were at constant war with him. They were always trying to frustrate his designs, to upset the moral order of his creation, and lead mankind to mischief of every kind. This was the inevitable result of the inability on the part of the people to grasp the idea of creation and government by fixed natural laws. God is kind and beneficent to his creatures, He is their constant and ever-vigilant protector, He cannot send among them plagues and storms and inundations; and yet plagues and storms and inundations are common. The question arises in the minds of the simple people, whence come they?—and they answer it by creating a set of wicked spirits whose type we have in the hero of the *Paradise Lost*—"a dualistic element corresponding to the Parsi doctrine of an active principle as well of good as of evil—of a kingdom of Ahriman as well as a kingdom of Ormuzd." Of these I shall have to say something more when treating of the schism which separated the Hindus from the Persians.

How long the people, whom I have above described, dwelt in their original home it is impossible now to determine. Nor is it possible at this distance of time to say precisely when they first began to disperse. As they multiplied and agriculture began to extend, the hunters were the first to feel the necessity of spreading wider and wider in quest of game. Probably religious differences also contributed to push them on. To the east the Turanian races were already thick and crowded, and there is no vestige of their having spread beyond Dardistan in that direction. The north, the west, and the south were the sides which were most open to them, and there is ample evidence to show that they did push on by all the three routes. The migrations were made, not in one body by each route, but in successive swarms spreading over many centuries, progressing step by step, and forming colonies along the whole route in all eligible localities.

Taking the northern route, though it was probably not the first which was adopted by the Aryans, the first colonists we come

across are the Mesagetæ. Proceeding thence in a westerly direction we enter Europe, and there we meet with three distinct families of Aryan origin, the Slavonic, the Lithuanian and the Teutonic: regarding each of these a few details are necessary.

The Slavonic nations include the old Slavonic, the Russian, the Servian, the Croatic, the Wendic, the Slovak, and the Pole. "In the ancient world," according to Bunsen, "this great, powerful, and much divided family is represented by the *Sauromata* of the Greeks, or the *Sarmatæ* of the Romans, a nation living on the Don and near the Caspian Sea."* Herodotus says that they spoke a faulty Scythian dialect that points clearly to the source whence they had come to Europe.

The Lithuanians differed in many respects from the Slavs, and Bunsen is of opinion that the ancient Prussian represents the most perfect form of their language, in some points nearer to the Sanskrit than any other existing tongue.†

"The Teutonic nations may be divided into two branches, the Scandinavian and the German. The language of the former is preserved in its most ancient form in the Icelandic; the Swedish and Danish are the modern daughters of the Old Norse language of Scandinavia. The second is the German, now the language of the whole of Germany, and almost the whole of Switzerland. Its northern or Saxon form has received a peculiar individuality in the Flemish and Dutch tongues; and by the emigrations which took place in the fifth century of our era, has become (mixed with French words since the Norman conquest) the prevalent and leading language of the British Isles, and is becoming now, by the emigrations which began in the seventeenth century, and are still continuing, that of the northern continent of America. The southern German tribes have successively formed, with a greater or less infusion of words into the Latin groundwork, the Italian, French, and Spanish languages."‡ According to Hauslab's Routes, appended to Ujfalvy's *Migrations des Touraniens*, the Mesagetæ are confined to the borders of Lake Aral; and the Slavonian, Lithuanian, and Teutonic nations are made to take a southerly direction from Asia to Persia, thence onwards in two streams one across the Caucasus, and the other across Asia Minor, to Europe. Much may be said in favour of the Caucasian colony coming from Persia, and thence proceeding to Europe; but there is nothing to contradict the position assumed by Bunsen of the Mesagetic branch having taken a westerly course across the Ural river. It is certain that the Turanians did enter Europe by that route, and it was not at all impossible for the Mesagetæ to accomplish what the Turanians had done before them. Seeing the marked differences

* Phil. Hist., II, p. 6.

† Bunsen, Phil. Hist., II, p. 8.

‡ Ibid, I, p. 8.

which existed between the Hellenic branch of the Aryans and the Tentons, it is to be presumed that the separation among them took place at a much earlier date than after the sojourn of the Aryans in Asia Minor.

Once in Europe the pugnacious warlike habits, hardy constitution, and superior civilisation, of the emigrant hunters enabled them to overcome and gradually to exterminate the aboriginal races they encountered, who, to judge from the remains of the owners of the Lake habitations of Switzerland, were evidently of inferior physique and courage. Looking to the rapidity with which the Indians of North America have all but disappeared before the tide of European aggression, it is not difficult to conceive how such a process of extermination was consummated by the ancestors of those Europeans in the heart of Europe. Their original warlike instincts improved with their progress towards the west, and their descendants still retain them to perfection.

Turning now to the direct western route from Asia, we first come to Persia which soon became a part of the Aryan home. Thence may be traced four different streams of emigrations proceeding westward, and forming most important nationalities, *viz.*, the Celtic, the Thracian, the Armenian, and the Hellenico-Italian. The earliest of these was the Celtic nation, which travelled the farthest from their original abode. "It appears to me," says Dr. Charles Meyer, in his essay on the last results of the Celtic Researches, "that the Celtic nation transported itself from Asia, and more particularly from Asiatic Scythia, to Europe and to this country by two principal routes, which it resumed at different epochs, thus forming two great streams of migration, which flow as it were periodically. The one, proceeding in a south-western direction, through Syria and Egypt, and thence along the northern coast of Africa, reached Europe at the Pillars of Hercules, and, passing on through Spain to Gaul, there divided itself into three branches. The northern branch terminated in Great Britain and Ireland; the southern in Italy; and the eastern running along the Alps, and the Danube, terminated near the Black Sea, not far from the point where the whole stream may probably have originated. The other great stream, taking a more direct course, reached Europe at its eastern limit, and passing through European Scythia, and from thence partly through Scandinavia, partly along the Baltic, through Prussia (the Polonia of the Sagas and Pwyl of the Triads), and through Northern Germany, reached this country, and thence the more western and northern islands across the German Ocean or bazy sea (Mottawch)." *

It is worthy of note that travelling from Asia along the northern

* Bacon, Phil. Hist., I, p. 148.

border of Africa as far as the pillars of Hercules these people left no trail on their route, and not a vestige is to be found of an Aryan colony along the whole line. This, however, may be easily accounted for: the Semitic races they encountered in their way were too powerful for them, and their colonists, such as they left behind, were swept away by their antagonists. M. Hauslab takes them across the Hellespont, and not by the southern shore of the Mediterranean. There is nothing, however, of weight sufficient to support such a theory. On the contrary the linguistic differences of the Celtic and the Hellenic tribes clearly show that the Celtic stream never intermingled in their western course, such as a route across Greece would imply.

The second branch is the Thracian or Illyrian. According to Bunsen it "once spread on the Dnieper, the Hellespont, and in Asia Minor, in which countries it was followed, and partly supplanted, by the Pelasgian, or ante-historical formation of the Hellenic. Dr. Paul Boetticher, in his '*Africa*,' (1850,) applied Burnouf's theory to the Thracian languages, and to those of Asia Minor; by which method he was enabled to prove from the words preserved to us by the Greeks, that the Phrygians, the Malonians, or Ironic Lydians, and the Western Cappadocians, are as well as the Thracians, next in kin to the Arians proper, the Persians, and Bactrians. The languages of the Epirots and Macedonians belong to this family, which is now presented in those countries by the Skipetarian, the language of the Albanians or Arnauts."*

In point of time the Armenian nation should have precedence of the last in their settlement in their new abode, but in enterprise they are subordinate to it.

The fourth branch is the Hellenico-Italic, or the Greek and Roman, formed by successive waves proceeding from Asia Minor partly across the Hellespont to Greece and thence onwards in a north-westerly course towards Northern Italy, and partly over the sea from island to island till it peopled the southern parts of that peninsula. In the absence of all remains of the Etruscan tongue, it is doubtful whether the race which spoke it belonged to the Italic group of the Aryans; but its history as far as accessible would support such a theory.

I now come to the southern route or Afghanistan. It would seem that notwithstanding the many swarms which had gone out by the first two routes, the Aryan hive was getting more and more crowded every day, and the shepherds and the agriculturists felt the necessity of extending the boundary of their original country, or, in other words, of spreading themselves towards the south. This movement, it may be surmised, was to some extent promoted

† Bunsen, *Phil. Hist.* II, p. 7

by the pressure of the Turanians from the east, who had already travelled across Asia and Persia to Egypt, and were still pushing on and on. Certain it is that the Aryans had occupied the best portion of Afghánistán before the time of Zoroaster, and made it an integral portion of ancient Aria. How long they dwelt there we know not; but it was long enough to have sent a portion of their superabundant population across the Indus to the valley of the Five Waters.

The relation of the agriculturists with the shepherds was not always of the most peaceful kind. Their respective habits of life were such as to make them antagonistic to each other. The shepherd had the most frequent opportunities of indulging in animal food and fermented drink, and they did not fail to make the most of those opportunities. The agriculturists were necessarily driven to depend principally on the produce of their fields, and they subsisted on a vegetable diet. The former thought that their gods were best served by offerings of sanguinary sacrifices and libations of intoxicating Soma; the latter offered the fruits of the earth and unfermented Soma to their gods; the one indulged in cattle lifting and marauding excursions; the other loved a life of peace and security, scrupulously mindful of the rights of private property and the laws of morality. The attributes of their gods under such circumstances necessarily became very dissimilar. A bold, daring, wrathful, warlike god best suited the requirements of the shepherds, and a mild, gentle, peaceful, righteous being was most in harmony with the disposition of the agriculturists. The differences in the attributes of their gods created a difference in religion, and it was impossible that under the circumstances the two classes could pull well together. Their differences were heightened by priests and reformers until they culminated in a religious schism of a most sanguinary character.

In the oldest Veda the word *Deva* is generally used for 'gods,' and the antiquity of that word is fully attested by its presence in the Greek and the Roman tongues; but it appears that another term was also occasionally used. This was *Asura*. According to Professor Max Müller's Index to the Rig Veda the latter term occurs twenty-six times as an epithet for Indra, Agni, Vayu, Pushan, Marut, or some other divinity, in the sense of 'the mighty one,' the word being derived from the root *as* to exist. It also occurs several times as an opprobrious term, implying an enemy of Indra who is styled *Asuraghna*, or "the destroyer of mighty ones," i.e., demons. In the Nukta it is explained as 'cloud' (1-10.) But in the Bráhmaṇas it is invariably the name of a class of demons with whom the gods are always at war. In the Chhândogya Upanishad of the Sâma Veda there is a story which represents Indra, the chief of the

Devas, and Vairochana, the chief of the Asuras, as fellow-students, seeking of Prajapati knowledge of the soul, and from what they learnt the former became a spiritualist and the latter a sensualist. In the Bráhmānas the wars of the two earliest races form the ever-recurring theme for expatiation, and everywhere are the gods extolled for all that is good and great and noble, and the Asuras condemned for everything that is wicked, though the fact of the Devas having been frequently worsted by their enemies is not suppressed. The reverse of this occurs in the Zendavesta. There the Asuras, in the Zend form Ahuras, are all that is good and virtuous, and the Devas, in the Zend form Deos, are the demons. The former are the good and white spirits, and the latter the black spirits of heaven. Even as Satan and his followers are represented in the Mosaic record as in antagonism with God and his angels, so are the Deos ever at war with Ahuras according to the Zendavesta. But in the former case is indicated the antagonism of spiritualism against sensualism, or virtue against vice; in the latter we have unmistakably the tradition preserved of the feuds and wars of two rival sectaries. The identity of names and the history of the two nations render this conclusion inevitable. We cannot but behold in them the followers of the Ahuras and the Devas, mutually retaliating by condemning each other's gods as demons, and fighting for supremacy. How long these wars lasted it is impossible now to ascertain, but it is unquestionable that they brought, on the one hand, the establishment of the Zoroastrian religion with Ahura Mazda, or chief Asura, for god and a host of Ahuras of inferior rank as ministers, receiving fruits and unfermented Soma from their votaries as offerings; and, on the other, the expulsion of the bulk of the shepherd tribe from Afghánistán with their pantheon headed by Indra, and the cultus which required animal sacrifices and libations of fermented liquors. These latter are the ancestors of the Bráhmānic Aryans. In India they found a congenial, peaceful home for the exercise of their peculiar form of worship, and a neighbourhood of rude Tamulians whom they never dreaded, and could always despise. The original idea of the sanctity of fire remained unaltered among both the sects. The Mazdehans continued to cherish the perpetual sacred fire, and so did the Bráhmāns until a very recent period. The sun also remained the most sacred emblem of god among both; but the change in the names of their gods and demons sufficed to cut their social bonds completely asunder. It may offend the self-love of the Bráhmāns to be told, that the celestial wars resulted in the final overthrow of Indra, or, in other words, that their ancestors were expelled from their ancient home by the followers of Asuras, and compelled to find a new dwelling in a foreign country; but their traditions and their sacred

scriptures coupled with those of the Parsis render the inference unavoidable. The Parsis too, in their turn, have found it necessary to foresake the ancient hearth of their forefathers to save themselves from a new tide of fanaticism, and to seek an asylum in the land to which they had once driven their adversaries. The Celts and the Teutons, whose patriarchs were the first to go forth from the land of their birth, have also made their appearance in this country. The descendants of the long-separated hunters, shepherds, and agriculturists of ancient Asia, have once again met on one common ground, and it is to be earnestly desired that their reunion in India will prove conducive to their mutual advancement, and that, forgetting their ancient feuds, they will light the calumet of peace, and, establishing a new era of civilisation, dwell in brotherly love with each other.

RAJENDRALALA MITRA.

ART. II.—HINDI SCHOOL-LITERATURE IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

By F. S. GROWSE, M.A., B.C.S.

IN the initial stage of every language, written composition merely reproduces colloquial style and is essentially simple and unartificial. The difficulties that obstruct a modern student on his way through the Vedas or other similar works of early date are rather accidental than inherent, being caused by the lapse of time and the obliteration of the explanatory circumstances. At a later stage of literary history, when composition is no longer spontaneous but regulated by rigid canons of criticism, no art is more difficult of attainment than that of writing on simple subjects in simple style and phraseology. Even in England, till within the memory of the present generation, it was only the old nursery tales and ballads which redeemed elementary education from being an intolerable incubus on a child's mind. Every lesson-book was systematically presented in as severe and unattractive a form as possible; and to make the path of learning still more thorny, it was a favourite artifice to teach one foreign language through the medium of another almost equally unintelligible to the pupil. It is then no wonder that school-books in India are framed too much on a faulty model, for the two old traditions—*first*, that learning is a mystery only to be imparted to a few; and *secondly*, that a mere modern vernacular does not deserve to be taught at all—though they have died out in Europe, are here as yet scarcely exploded; while literary taste has so deteriorated, that turgid bombast is regarded as the perfection of eloquence, and plain straightforward diction a clear proof of inferior intelligence.

Hence arises the popular prejudice among Englishmen against the Hindi language; which has now grown to such a pitch, that it is not an uncommon thing to find writers in the newspapers declaring that Hindi is merely an invention of a small clique of scholars, or pseudo-scholars, and has no genuine existence among the people at all. This idea is so preposterous that at first it is difficult to regard it as seriously entertained, but it has been advanced so often of late that it may be as well to ascertain how it originated.

The Hindi reading-books used in the Government schools are, in my opinion, mainly responsible for it. Though they treat of childish matters in a childish style of thought, they are generally couched in the most pedantic language. A district officer who

may have a fair working knowledge of Urdu, and sufficient acquaintance with Hindi to understand a rustic talking about his crops, but is utterly unversed in Hindi literature, goes into a village school, takes up a book and tells one of the boys to begin 'reading'. In every sentence a word or two occurs which strikes the visitor as unfamiliar. He asks the boy if he understands the meaning; on his replying in the negative he puts the question to the teacher, who, unless he happens to be a particularly favourable specimen of the class, is almost equally at fault. Even if he knows, he has been so faultily trained that he cannot explain by suggesting a familiar synonym, but is obliged to have recourse to some long, clumsy, and confused periphrasis. The examiner hastily concludes that a language which in its presumed simplest form is thus unintelligible to all parties must be a grotesque unreality; while the fault really lies not in the language but in the mode in which it is taught. As Urdu phraseology is inseparable from hyperbole and exaggeration, inflated terms of Persian origin are the common-places of conversation in politer circles, and, therefore, when read aloud are readily recognized even by an Englishman who does not profess to be a literary student. But as a rule an official never talks Hindi except to the lowest classes and therefore knows only its most vulgar phrases. The teacher again has probably read only the short list of books prescribed in the curriculum of the Normal School and has no acquaintance with genuine vernacular literature; which, strange to say, these village pedagogues never dream of studying for their own gratification or improvement, though certainly one reason may be that their pay is small and books are scarce. In the third place the author of the Primer, or what not, is probably a Munshi, who habitually writes in the Persian character and is therefore not very familiar with pure Hindi idiom; or he is a Pandit, who observes a faulty tradition in employing on all occasions a long word in preference to a short one, and considers the display of his own erudition a matter of more importance than the edification of his readers. Thus the literary inexperience of the visitor, being kept in countenance by the bad training of the teacher and the bad style of the books, creates in his mind an impression which soon petrifies into a settled article of faith.

To give an illustration of my meaning: there is a little nine-pie book, called *Bāl-bodh*, which is now in its twelfth edition of 30,000 copies and is used, probably, in every Primary School in these provinces. It is intended as a first book for children who have just mastered the alphabet and made their way through the few short detached sentences at the end of the *Aksharāṇṇikā*. The following translation of Lesson No. 6 will give an idea of what the author considers an appropriate and intelligible style for children of that tender age.

"One day a little boy was going to school to his lessons. It was a day when the heat of the sun was *exceedingly intense* and the birds seated on the trees were singing *charmingly*. The child came to a place where he quite forgot his duty and had no regard for books and slates. In his *indolence* he determined not to go to school at all but spend the *entire* day there. Rambling about with this idea he saw a bee *laboriously* collecting juice from each *individual* flower to make honey. 'Going on further he saw a little bird picking up straws, here and there, to make its nest. *Fortuitously*, too, he saw an ant dragging with great *exertion* a grain of rice as heavy as itself and taking it home to make a *repast* for itself and its little ones. Seeing these *creatures* each employed in its own *occupation*, the boy began to think 'all living *creatures* labour for their living; it *behoves* me, too, if I would thrive, to give up *indolence* and work.' So thinking, the boy went to school with all *expedition* and never made a blank day again."

The above is not at all an exaggerated representation of the pedantic style of the original; in which we find *ati* for *bahut*, 'very'; *tikshna* for *tej*, 'hot'; *anand* for *khushi*, 'pleasure'; *kahil* for *sust*, 'lazy'; *vyatit* for *bît*, past; *sram* for '*mîlmat*' 'labour'; *avasar* for *ghari* or *samay*, 'time'; *âhâr* for *khâna*, 'food'; *uchit*, for *bhâlâ* 'good,' &c. &c. The word *santhâ* which I have translated 'duty,' is, I frankly admit, beyond my comprehension; and *nâgâ* for 'a blank day' is certainly a common word in servants' talk, but I have never seen it in print before, not even in a Dictionary: The story offends further as much in subject as in style, and must present a very bewildering idea to a little Hindu. It at once betrays itself as a translation; for in England a hot summer's day would be a very pleasant time for a stroll through the woods, but in India such holiday-making would probably result in a sun-stroke. The retention of this book on the school-list appears to me most injudicious. It has probably already done an immense amount of harm by creating misconceptions and obstructing progress; and should be struck off at once, although it is stamped with the *imprimatur* of the amiable Mr. Edwards and the enlightened Bâbu Sîva Prasâd.

Reference has already been made to the little *Akshar-dîpikâ* now in its ninth edition of 100,000. This is a mere Primer, constructed on a sensible plan enough; but the village teacher has seldom the wit to use it correctly. It consists of reading lessons of short sentences of simple colloquial words arranged with some idea of progressive difficulty. These are preceded by a few pages of Accidence explaining in technical terms the difference between vowels and consonants and other similar matters. Instead of setting the child down to the first lesson of *tû â*, 'come here'; *ghî lâ*, 'bring the *ghî*,' which is on the 15th page; he generally makes him begin at the first page and plunge at once into the definitions of *akshar* and *svâr* and *vyanjan*. Till teachers can be better directed at the Normal School, or provided with a little more common sense, it would be advisable either

to omit these technicalities altogether or at least remove them to the end of the book.

This latter course has been adopted in the *Baran-Málá*, another Primer, which like the *Bál-bodh* is by Bábu Siva Prasád. It is rather pretentiously got up, with illustrations on every page and is evidently a translation from the English, made (I must add) without any regard to the essential differences between the two languages. Thus one of the very first pictures, introduced among the letters of the alphabet, is that of 'a jug,' an article which in England is in every day use and bears a very simple name, but when that name has to be represented in Hindi by the periphrasis *dhakne bind bartan*, the appropriateness of the illustration may well be questioned. Similarly, after the list of separate words has been exhausted, the first complete sentence given is *Bhagaván se daro*, of which, I presume, the English equivalent was 'Fear God', two words of one syllable; while the Hindi rendering has to employ one of three. In short a more curious example than this book presents of a translation that combines literal accuracy with utter disregard of the intention of the original writer could scarcely be found. A very slight amount of reflection would show that of all books in the world a Primer is the one which, for any practical purpose, it is most impossible to translate into a foreign language; though, of course, it might be done as a literary curiosity; since the sentences in the original are selected not so much with reference to the meaning which they convey as to the length of the words of which they are composed. The five fables which follow the other reading lessons are all very well; but the pictures with which they are embellished are so foreign in subject that they are not likely to give much pleasure to children, who are always most taken with familiar objects.

The *Patra-málaka*, or complete 'letter-writer,' by Srí Lál, the compiler of the *Akshar-dípká*, is a well meaning little book; but though eight editions have been exhausted, I have never yet come across a native, even in the Educational Department, who would direct a letter in English style according to the pattern which it gives. So far the book has failed of its object; and post-office clerks still have to spell through an interminable sentence covering the whole front of an envelope before they can ascertain for whom a letter is intended. A little example here might prove more effectual than precept. I would also suggest that the complicated and unmeaning formula of exordium, which is somewhat longer than the one in ordinary use, might be abridged with advantage.

The book generally read immediately after the *Bál-bodh* is the story of *Dharm Singh*. In the very first line of this we find the

unusual Sanskrit word *parinām*, which is here singularly out of place. Several other equally pedantic expressions occur in the same page, which is occupied with a sort of preface declaring the story to be strictly true and its hero a real personage. This, as I gather from the names of the places mentioned, is a mere artifice of which the morality—in a child's book—seems not a little doubtful, and I would suggest that in future editions this introductory matter should be omitted; the story itself is quite unexceptionable and the phraseology simple colloquial Hindi. Any elaborate exposition of the author's object in composing it is quite unnecessary, and therefore the existing Preface has no *raison d'être*.

'The chronicles of Suraj-pur,' another tale by the same author and in a very similar style of composition, are described as written with the express object of giving villagers a little insight into the working of the Revenue Code. For my own part I question the expediency of encouraging litigation by making every labourer his own lawyer, and of teaching mere children to regard as immutable verities any of the provisions of our short-lived regulations and enactments; while the introduction into ordinary village dialects of such phrases as *mazrua* and *kābil zirāt*, utterly unpronounceable by a Hindu's organs of speech is, I think, as objectionable as forcing an English farmer's lad to talk of 'arable' and 'cereals,' instead of ploughland, and grain.

Another little book of Sri Lāl's, called *Samay-Prabodh*, is also written with a definite object, and one to which it is impossible to take exception. It gives in a small compass a great number of really interesting facts regarding the calculation of times and seasons, explaining how the difference between the solar and lunar year is to be adjusted by the insertion of an intercalary month, and how the English Calendar is reconciled with the Hindu and Muhammadan. As it was written in 1852 and is now only in the second edition, it appears not to be a favourite in the department and I have never myself seen it in use. The author displays the usual contempt for orthography by spelling the two months, Pūs and Agahn, in a way peculiar to himself, Phūs and Aghen; errors which ought to have been corrected before publication, together with a curious slip in the comparative table of the days of the week, where Thursday is given as synonymous with *Budh* and Wednesday with *Brihaspat*. A stroke of the pen would set this right, and I should be glad to see the book more largely introduced in at least partial supersession of the *Vidyānkur*.

The latter is now in its twelfth edition of 10,000, and is not only read in every village school in the province, but was also for some years (and, for all I know to the contrary, may be still employed as a text book in the Civil Service examination for High Proficiency. The prejudice that I have conceived against it may partly

be due to the latter fact ; but I never hear a village class spelling it out that it does not strike me as being intolerably verbose and at the same time jejune, full of laborious explanations on matters that require no explanation whatever. For example, 'of what age, character, or attainments are the pupils supposed to be who are likely to derive any new ideas from such a sentence as the following, which is a fair sample of about one-half the book?—"So long as people are not married, a man is called *kwára* and a woman *kwári* or *kanyá*; but after marriage a man is styled *patí*, and a woman *patní* or *gharváli*; and when they have issue, that is to say, children, then the man and woman are called the father and mother of those children. No one's father or mother lives for ever ; at last they die; and the fatherless, motherless children are called *anáth*, or in Persian *yatím*. When the life leaves the body, the latter is called *mritak*, which can neither see, nor hear, nor stir, nor walk, but lies like the earth and mingles with the earth." The concluding words illustrate the slavish adherence to the letter of the original, which characterises all these translations ; they would be appropriate only among people where the body is committed to the earth in burial ; where cremation prevails, as among Hindus, it would be more natural to say, that the body was dissolved into the five elements, which, in fact, is the ordinary Hindi idiom for death. This unreasoning retention of foreign habits of thought and expression destroys the value of all Bábu Siva Prasád's adaptations from the English. His original works are far more successful, and his *Bámá-mana-ranjan* or 'Tales for Women,' is decidedly the best book of its class that has yet been written, being attractive in choice of subject and for the most part simple and unaffected in diction. A few long Sanskrit compounds, such as *Surva-guna-vishishta*, 'excelling in all virtues,' might be weeded out with advantage ; and the transliteration of European names should have been revised before the work was issued from the Press : to lengthen the penultimate in the word Elizabeth, and represent the hard sound of *ch* in the name Pulcheria by the Nágari palatal क is as anomalous as unmeaning. So far as the author is concerned, such mistakes are perfectly excusable ; since it would be unreasonable to expect the Bábu in addition to his other attainments to have acquired a scholarly knowledge of Latin and Greek. But to judge from another series of books to which we shall turn presently, comparative etymology is a study which has not yet achieved recognition in India. However distressing the mutilation which the phonetic rack inflicts in the reconciliation of Indian words to an Anglican standard, it is even exceeded in horror by the barbarous results of the converse process. Thus—when New York is transliterated into Nágari characters—to spell new as *nyú*, instead of

nú, not only utterly obscures the connection of the word with the Persian *nau* and the Sanskrit *nava*, but further necessitates a pronunciation which has long been tolerated only on the stage. Obviously the rule should be to regard ultimate derivation rather than slurred colloquial utterance, and in classical words to adopt the Continental sound of the vowels rather than that which has prevailed in England only for the three last centuries and which is now being banished from all our large schools, and in the course of the next generation will certainly become altogether obsolete.

Though I admit the general merit of the *Bámá-mana-ranjan*, still it shows faint signs of a defect which in a much higher degree characterises most of the Hindi school-books: its style at once betrays that its author habitually thinks and writes not in Hindi, but in Urdu or English. For take the opening sentence: "The beauty and virtue of the charming Damayantí, the daughter of Bhím-sen, the king of Vidarbha, are celebrated throughout the whole of India." In accordance with Hindi style this would stand thus: "There was once a king of Vidarbha called Bhím-sen. He had a lovely daughter by name Damayantí. Her beauty and virtue are still celebrated throughout India." The difference may not appear very great; but it is sufficient to perplex beginners, for whom the book is intended. In the other *Readers* which are almost exclusively translations, this incongruity of style is far more obtrusive. Hindi phrases have been invariably substituted for the original Urdu, while the structure of the sentences has been left intact. A genuine Hindi book often shows the very reverse of this. In it a large proportion of the words are Persian, but they are grouped in accordance with the rules of Hindi composition, which delights in a terse sententiousness as much as Persian does in a continuous flow of unbroken periods which imperceptibly merge one into the other. Nāgari characters and a thick sprinkling of Sanskrit words are not enough to convert Urdu into Hindi. A sentence of Johnsesque English, bristling with classical formations, is still in its essentials Teutonic; and Turkish, though it derives almost the whole of its vocabulary, in part from Persian, which is Aryan, and in part from Arabic, which is Semitic, is still itself a Turanian form of speech. Take, again, the following lines from the *Kiyāmat-nāma* of Prán-nāth, written in the reign of Aurangzeb:—

Khás ummāt su kahiyo jāi,
Utho mūmino, kiyāmat āi.
Kahat hī hún muwāfik Korān,
Tumhāre āge karūn bayān.

Though every second word is Persian or Arabic, the verses as a whole are distinctly Hindi.

The series to which I have already referred on account of its marvellously uncouth and unscholarly representations of European names—all of which, it must be remembered, are as purely Aryan in descent as any Hindi vocables—is the *Prasiddha Charchāvali*, or 'Lives of eminent Characters,' a translation by Pandit Bansidhar from the *Tazkirat-ul-Mashhāir*. It is in six parts; of which the first selects its heroes from remote antiquity such as Sesostris and Semiramis; the second and third from Greek and Roman History, as Lyncurgus, Perikles, Hannibal, and Pyrrhus; the fourth from the modern history of Europe, as Louis XI, Lord Nelson, and the Duke of Wellington; the fifth from Eastern History, as Changez Khán and Bábar; and the sixth from the annals of art and science, as Albert Durer, Shakespeare and Lord Bacon. Some of the narratives are not badly told, but the names are so distorted that in many cases they can only be identified by banishing them from sight altogether and supplying the blanks by a reference to the context and a previous knowledge of the history. Soft consonants are represented by hard and hard by soft; short vowels are almost invariably lengthened, as for example the first syllable of Perikles, and the second of Hannibal and Attila; *vice versá*, long vowels are shortened, as in the penultimate of Peloponnesus; Claudius appears as Klojyús, Julius Cæsar as Kaisar Púliyús, and Thales as Thílís, the last *í* being due to the fact that the *e* of the Persian original was indistinguishable from *í*; both, however, strictly speaking, would be equally incorrect, since the *a* should remain unchanged.

The *Siksha Manjari* or 'Flowers of Instruction,' and the *Upadesa Pushpavali* or 'Polite Preceptor,' two manuals of Deportment, are both by the same author as the above series, Pandit Bansidhar, and are translations the one of the *Talím-un-nafs* the other of the *Guldasta Akhlák*. I should have imagined one book of the kind quite enough; for unless the mind of a little Hindu is very differently constituted from that of an English boy, it would scarcely be possible to provide him with reading of a more wearisome and unattractive description. A knowledge of etiquette in all its branches is no doubt highly appreciated in the East, but I believe it is an invariable rule that Persian or Urdu books on the subject should be composed in rhythmical prose of the most ornate description, and Hindi books in sententious rhyming couplets; a condition with which the compiler of the treatises under review has not thought it necessary to comply.

Several other readers may be somewhat summarily dismissed. The *Suta Sikshāvali*, or 'Girls' Own Book,' also by Bansidhar, is in two parts. The first is a mere Primer with exceedingly comical pictures to illustrate each letter of the alphabet. These may possibly serve as an incentive to study, since it is only by

decyphering the legend that a clue can be gained to the name of the animal intended to be depicted. In the letter-press there is the usual contempt for orthography; Ahalyá being spelt 'hilyá'; Jasodá, Jasodhá; Sukra, Sukkar; and Shám (Persian for 'evening'), Syám, as if it were the Sanskrit word meaning 'dark.' In the second part the compiler steers clear of the Scylla of vulgarism only to fall into the Charybdis of pedantry; for on the first page occurs the phrase *Kram-púrvak San-kshep*, 'a consecutive abridgement,' which it must be admitted is rather a formidable monster for a girl six or seven years old to encounter. The *Gyāna-chulāsi*, the only verse-book of the series, is a collection of four short moral poems of ten couplets each, which it may be presumed are intended to be learnt by heart: they are too concise for any other purpose. The *Hitopades*, by Pandit Tārā Datt, Sub-Deputy Inspector, is an exhortation to little girls to be good and mind their books; and the *Nīti Pradīp*, a translation from the Tabzīb-ul-Akhlaq, is directed to the same admirable object. The *Strī Śikṣā*, by Rām Krishan, another Sub-Deputy Inspector, is a laboured exposition and defence of the educational policy of the Government, which might be of service in supplying controversial arguments for departmental officials, but is very unsuited for school use. The *Satyā Nirūpana*, or 'Mirror of Truth,' a translation from the Mahratti by Krishan Datt and Bausidhar, is rather too sermonizing in tone, but is relieved by a number of anecdotes, including one from Herodotus, the penultimate vowel of whose name is, with characteristic inaccuracy, lengthened by the transcriber; though he might have been informed that *dotus* was simply the Greek equivalent for the Sanskrit termination of his own name *datta*. The *Nīti-sudhā tarangini*, by Pandit Rām Prasād, a lengthy composition of 162 closely printed pages, selling for a rupee a copy, is a series of moral precepts and apologues strung together after the old immemorial fashion of the Sanskrit *Hitopadesa*, and though the excessively hackneyed mode of treatment detracts from its value as an original work, is a favourable specimen of its class. A remark which may also be made of the last remaining book on the list, the *Strī-dharma-saṅgraha* of Śāstri Tārāchand, published at Bareilly for the Rohilkhand Literary Society. It is a little too learned, but as the author seems to be unsophisticated by English education, it is written in a natural style, is in perfect harmony with Hindu ideas as to what is right and proper, and might with advantage be more largely used in the higher female classes.

The only Reader for boys to which I am disposed to give unqualified praise is Rām Jasan's edition of the *Rāmāyana*. The poem is the *chef d'œuvre* of Hindi literature and its morality is as unexceptionable as its language is elegant. The subject is one in

which every Hindu, whatever the sect to which he may belong, takes an intense interest; while it is so skilfully treated that even foreigners can appreciate its beauty, and for my own part I have always considered it as being in essential points superior to the Sanskrit original. It is, therefore, of all others, the book for Hindu schools, and its more general introduction in all schools of every grade is most desirable. Passages of it might also be learned by heart as an exercise of memory; and when once definite 'Repetition' lessons are constituted a part of the ordinary curriculum, it may be hoped that the ridiculous practice will be abolished of saying off by rote long paragraphs of historical narrative, which are anything but a model of style, and only of value for the general substance of what they convey. The special edition satisfies exactly my idea of school requirements; the words are divided; there is a copious glossary, and there are also some notes—which, however, might be extended—explanatory of the more obscure allusions. It is in this latter point that Báhu Siva Prasád's *Gutká*, the Reader most largely used in all the higher classes, specially fails. His selection of translations and polemical essays may be excused on the score of the difficulty he felt in finding other suitable extracts; but I cannot comprehend the propriety of printing for school use, without a single line of explanation, a long passage of exceptional difficulty from the *Rámáyana*, and a great part of the *Satsaiya* a very famous Hindi poem, but one so obscure in allusion and involved in style that no professed Pandit thinks of reading it without the help of a commentary, and I have never before seen the bare text published even for adults alone by itself.

To pass now from general to special treatises. There are several tracts on the Geography of Europe, but all seem to me either unintelligible or misleading. The difficulty of remembering a foreign name is immensely increased if every time it is written, it appears in some different form; and when the form is so distorted that it cannot be recognized by any one who has not read the special text-book, to remember it at all is rendered practically useless. The compilers not only have no system of transliteration, as is evident when they represent Thames as *Temes*, but Naples and Wales, with terminations of similar character, the one as *Neplaj* the other as *Welj*—such want of method being, however, strictly in accord with recent official practice; but the phonetic symbol is also as fluctuating as it is arbitrary. Thus, for example, in the course of a few pages we have the Kingdom of Portugal, appearing first as *Porchugel*! a little later as *Purttagál*, and finally as *Purtugál*. Even the Indian geographies are hasty and inaccurate compilations and extremely unscientific in their arrangement. It would be much better to substitute for them a translation of

Mr. Blochmann's School Geography, which gives a great amount of the most recent information in a very small compass and is both accurate and methodical.

The Epitome of English History, translated from the Urdu by Pandit Hira Lal, is probably not much in request: I have never myself seen it in use. It may be desirable to have such a book in existence, but what with the difficulty of representing European names in Oriental characters, and for other reasons, I think a profitable knowledge of the subject is not to be acquired without a knowledge of the English language. One feature in the book is extremely reprehensible: it is, of course, supposed to be scrupulously unsectarian; but the word 'Protestantism' is translated by *sat dharm*, 'the true faith,' and 'Catholicism' by *Pop kā Shuktha mat*, 'the false religion of the Pope.' This is only one proof of many that the Director at that time, however excellent as an office administrator, did not consider it part of his duty to examine very closely the character of the books issued under his authority.

Upon grounds of a similar nature, objections have been made to Bābū Siva Prasād's Indian Histories; but so far as I can judge, they have been very inadequately substantiated. In the First Part of the *Timira-nāsak* he is considered to be unnecessarily severe upon the Muhammadans; but he merely specifies some of their acts of bigotry and intolerance with scarcely a word of comment. If he had omitted all facts of the kind and represented the Delhi Emperors as liberal and enlightened sovereigns, who regarded Hindus and the followers of the prophet with equal favour, he would certainly have created an impression so opposed to the truth and so destructive of the basis on which we support the necessity of British intervention, that I, for one, cannot condemn him for his veracity. In the Second Part it is the orthodox Hindus who complain of his ultra-liberal remarks on caste restrictions and other social customs which the old fashioned school esteem sacred and of divine institution. They are to be found in a paragraph where the Bābū is speaking of the famous 'greased cartridges,' of 1857, and explains that the English must have been innocent of any evil intent, since they could scarcely be expected to know that according to Hindu belief the difference between two products of the cow was so great that eternal perdition resulted from eating the one, while the other was a passport to salvation. Though all that he says is perfectly just and reasonable, it is rather too bluntly stated to be altogether appropriate in a Hindi school-book, and in a future edition some slight change in the mode of expression will probably be made, as a concession to popular prejudices.

This history is undoubtedly the most important contribution to school literature that has yet been made, and being, as I cannot but think it, a clear and truthful narrative of facts, any exception on

mere points of style is comparatively of little importance. Still the close juxtaposition of unusual Sanskrit with equally unusual Persian phrases, such as *Samudrávadhi*, *Zar-khezi* and *advitiya*, all occurring in one sentence, is an unfailling source of bewilderment both to pupil and teacher. If such words are retained, they should, at least, be explained either in foot-notes or in a vocabulary at the end of the book. A slight remodelling of the text would also render it a more useful educational instrument: though the same end might be attained by merely prefixing a few instructions as to the mode in which it should be taught. At present a boy invariably begins at the beginning and tries to learn it all off by heart. His progress is thus necessarily slow and by the time that he has arrived at a period of any interest it not unfrequently happens that he has to leave schooling and take to the business of life. What he has learnt is about as valuable as a knowledge of the Saxon Heptarchy to an English ploughboy. Now Indian History is a proverbially dull and practically unremunerative study. It is desirable to know the succession of dynasties and the detailed circumstances of a few marked events, such as the invasions of Mahmúd, the fall of Prithi Ráj, the reigns of the four great Mughal Emperors, and the rise of the British power. The history of these periods might be taken up from the very first and carefully studied, the intervening spaces being simply bridged over by succinct epitomes or a mere list of sovereigns, with the date of accession and death of each, so much being learned by heart. At present the Chronological List at the end of the book is never brought into use; and if a boy is asked the date of an event, he never can answer at once, till he has run over the sentence in the narrative where it is mentioned. The above remark illustrates, in a striking manner, the utter want of intelligence and teaching capacity shown by the vast majority of the certificated teachers of the village schools. But their intense stupidity and non-appreciation of educational ends must, in a great measure, be due to faulty training; and a thorough scrutiny and reform of the system on which the Normal School is at present conducted is a most urgent necessity. The real object, as I conceive it, of the village schools is to teach the rural population to speak, read and write their own language with propriety. But with the exception of hand-writing, to which attention is paid, these are the very matters which are utterly neglected. Grammar is seldom taught, orthography and the meaning of words never; and, as I have shown by repeated examples, the very books published by the authority of the department abound in gross errors of spelling.

The faults which strike me in most of the Readers arise from their being translations, or the composition of men who habitually think and write, not in Hindi, but in Urdu or English, which makes

them stiff and artificial in style. An Englishman in an official position never converses with a native of the country on perfectly easy terms—certainly he knows nothing whatever of their home life—and though he might write a treatise on some exact science in a passable style, the more homely the subject which he took up, the more absolute must be his failure, disfigured as his work would be by solecisms of idiom and obscured as to its meaning by the introduction of foreign habits of thought. Children, like uneducated people of larger growth, at once detect the slightest deviation from established usage; while a more advanced student understands by analogy how the mistake arose and finds no difficulty in it. It would be a rash Frenchman who essayed to write a tale for an English nursery; though with him it is simply the difference of mother tongue that creates embarrassment; while between the Hindu and the Englishman the difference of speech is but the first and most trifling barrier to be surmounted.

It may be hoped that the present want will be gradually supplied by spontaneous contributions to vernacular literature, which will admit of being adapted to school use. In the books written to order, the compilers seem to regard the subject from a wrong point of view. The only essentials for a successful class book are, that it should be interesting in subject, elegant or at least correct in style, and of sound but unobtrusive morality. Fulsome panegyrics on the Government, and elaborate apologies for its educational policy, are singularly out of place; while of the two other prominent characteristics of the existing series, interminable sermonizing is almost as cardinal a defect as vicious orthography, since it makes a child associate with the idea of 'a book' all that is wearisome and oppressive, and effectually discourages him from proceeding any further in a direction which promises him such scanty entertainment. For the higher classes there is already an admirable text book in the *Rāmāyana*; for the lower a selection of extracts from it and other genuine national works might be compiled. Only it is essential that it should be accompanied with full explanatory notes and illustrations, and supplemented by a copious vocabulary in which the derivation of words should be explained as much as possible. For there is, I am convinced, a close connection between moral and literary truthfulness: people who are taught that they can twist words into any form they like, are unconsciously led to think that they have the same license with facts; and even those who will not go so far as this, must allow that the practice of consulting a dictionary and ascertaining the definite sense of terms must have a tendency to correct vagueness of expression and so lead to greater precision in ideas.

Thus much for books that are intended for practice in reading

and development of the mind rather than technical instruction. In treatises that refer to some special branch of science, where mere style is a matter of minor importance, translations are perfectly unobjectionable. A good grammar has lately been provided in Mr. Etherington's *Bhāsha Bhāskara*; as much might be done for Indian Geography by a version of Mr. Blochmann's *Manual*. In mathematics, always a favourite subject of Indian study, the books now in use are good and sufficient; in Indian History Bābū Sīva Prasād's *Timira-nāsak* leaves little to be desired beyond a more intelligent method in teaching it; and if a knowledge of the history and geography of European countries is thought necessary, though for all but English students, I consider this a matter of the very slightest consequence, some compendium in use at schools at home might, no doubt, be freely translated in such a way as to satisfy all Indian requirements.

F. S. GROWSE.

ART. III.—FREE TRADE IN LAND.

(Independent Section.)

IT has been said by a great authority that one man knows more than another on the subject of the land-tenures of India, but that no one has grasped the whole question. This much, however, may be confidently asserted, that under native rule the amount of rent paid by tenants in all parts of the country was determined not by competition but by custom. The very difficulty which we find in ascertaining the rights of different classes of ryots in every newly conquered province proves this fact. For if in any place their tenures had been derived from contracts, we should there have been able to effect a settlement without much labour. Indeed, we might without fear of contradiction make a much broader statement, and say that in every state of society but the very latest, rent is, over the whole world, regulated by custom alone. The Barons of the feudal system, the Celtic Chiefs of Ireland and of the Highlands of Scotland, as well as the Indian Rájás, had the power to enforce customary payments or service from their vassals, clansmen, or ryots; but could not violate these customs by making separate bargains with individuals. Had such contracts been made, they could have been enforced only by the exercise of an amount of violence which might have been employed more profitably, and with less odium, in open, undisguised plunder.

Another truth applicable to all tenures in India, and in other countries where the rent is still fixed by custom, is that the cultivator is better off when holding under them than he would be under a system of competition. In the essential matter of security he has all that he could wish for. He is forced to pay his rent, as he is obliged to discharge any other debt, but he is never evicted from his holding. Nowhere is there an unwritten usage so hard upon the tenant as is a modern lease, with its provision that at the end of one or more years he shall, if desired, quit his holding, retaining no claim on it whatever. Again, his rent can never be excessive because an excessive rent could not have been paid by a whole population for a period long enough to establish a custom. In fact it is generally very light. According to the Hindu law it should be only one-fifth of the gross produce of the soil; and in Lower Bengal, when we acquired the country, it was something less than this. We doubt if even at this day, after repeated enhancements, the rent exceeds the proportion assigned by the old Hindu theologians. Thus custom is every where the shield of the cultivator, just as competition is the sword of the landlord.

The introduction of regular courts capable of enforcing contracts always marks a period in the progress of a nation most critical to the interests of the classes connected with land. Unless great care is taken to frame suitable laws for the guidance of such tribunals, their decrees invariably effect a social revolution. They destroy old customs, and in their place introduce contracts and competition. The most valuable and contented class a nation can possess, an independent peasantry, has often been ruined by the change. Thus the yeomen of England were converted first into tenants-at-will, and then into day-labourers. Some centuries later the courts commenced to work in the Highlands of Scotland, and the clans, who supplied our best soldiers, and contributed the element of enthusiasm to our national character, were driven from their glens to America, to make room for sheep farms. Almost in our own day the population of Ireland was in a few years reduced from eight to five and a half millions by a similar process; and no doubt it would have fallen lower still, if the desire of the landlords to evict had not been counteracted by an organised public opinion, and sometimes by a more effectual sanction which we do not wish to name. In France the wreck of the peasantry, for whose benefit Henry IV. had worked so well, was saved only by the revolution. In Prussia the operation of these general causes had to be arrested by the land law of Stein. Perhaps the most melancholy instance of the effects of a rigid system of contract is exhibited by ancient Rome. The cultivators of her soil were at first the most honoured of her citizens, their labours the theme of her national poets, the facility with which they left the plough to join or even to command her armies the subject of her most popular legends. This noble peasantry disappeared to make way for large estates, cultivated by slaves. Pliny expressed the general opinion of thoughtful men on the subject when he wrote "*Latifundia perdidere Italiam.*"

It is a question open to discussion whether, after the lapse of centuries, England is the better or the worse for the change in her land system. The ejection of the yeomanry has made room for farmers who work on a scale large enough to admit of the employment of steam ploughs, threshing machines, and a proper division of labour. Moreover, as the less industrious and skilful farmers become bankrupt, those who can keep their heads above water are necessarily men who know how to get the most out of the soil. These advantages are by some considered sufficient to compensate for the loss of the yeomanry who formed the backbone of the population, or rather their conversion into the miserable and dangerous class of agricultural labourers. There can, however, be no doubt that where the race of privileged tenants cultivating their own lands is not altogether destroyed, but

remains on the soil, a system of competition is ruinous to a country. No one has ever contended that the condition of Ireland twenty years ago was not deplorable. And in Bengal the state of things under a régime of unlimited competition would be even worse than it was in Ireland, for the pressure of the population on the land is more severe. In Great Britain, with all its trade and manufactures, the population is only 262 to the square mile. In Bengal, a poor country, it is 389 to a mile, in the older districts 600, and in some purely agricultural thanaahs of Hooghly 1,000. The demand for land is out of all proportion to the supply. It follows that if rents were settled by competition, they would rise to the point of starvation, for there would always be competitors eager to obtain land on any terms which promised to them a bare subsistence. And even when holding at such rates tenants would always be liable to eviction and ruin at the whim of their landlords.

We have by no means fallen so low as this in Bengal as yet. We are, however, going rapidly down the hill, and if we do not pull up in time we shall soon be in the slough at the bottom. Our statesmen have tried to protect the ryots in the enjoyment of their rights. Whenever we conquer a new province we protest both loudly and earnestly that we will protect the land-tenures of every class; and particularly, as the old regulations have it, of those who are least able to help themselves. We proceed to ascertain the rights of each individual with a care unknown in other countries, we try every disputed claim, decide everything, and record everything. It might be supposed that our action was strictly conservative, that it would tend to add stability to the existing state of things, and stereotype for ever the Hindu customs. But it invariably proves otherwise. As soon as our settlement officers leave their camp, a change comes over the position of all persons connected with the land. The rents commence to rise rapidly and continue to do so with an increasing ratio of speed. The income of the landlords doubles, and as they grow rich they envy and attack the rights of all other classes. The cultivators become alarmed and discontented, and accuse our courts of injustice, until a general feeling of class enmity and disaffection pervades the whole province.

Strange to say, Bengal, the oldest of our possessions, has been among the last to feel this change. From the first we were absolutely free from all danger of insurrection in this part of India, and the revenue was realized with punctuality. Government took but slight notice of a people which gave it no trouble. The few civil courts planted here and there, were encumbered by a tedious procedure, and choked with litigation as to title. The few rent cases which they were able to try

were decided, as the regulations directed, according to immemorial custom and the pergunnah standard. We did not even pretend to enable a landlord to collect his arrear rents through the courts, but we gave him the power of realizing them himself. He had the right to distrain a defaulter's property, and to seize his person. These powers were amply sufficient for the purpose of forcing an individual to comply with the general custom of the country, by making the regular and recognised payments. But they did not enable the zemindar to break down the old customs and establish new rules. If he attempted to do this he was met by a ryots' union, a *vidrahi dal*, the rents out of which his revenue was paid were stopped, and any attempt at violence was crushed by the superior force of numbers. Recent events in Pubna district show that even to this day the ryots retain the tradition of resistance and combination. Met by such obstacles, the zemindar soon saw that though more than a match for any one ryot, he was unable to face a general union of all his tenants. And thus for more than three quarters of a century after the battle of Plassey the administration of the interior of Bengal continued to run in the old native groove, and the rights of the tenants were preserved by the absence of courts.

It was not until 1859 that a serious attempt was made to define and enforce by law the rights of the different classes interested in the land. A new Government, that of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, had been appointed, and wished to justify its existence by activity. The large number of European planters settled in the interior had also drawn attention to the subject. The law then passed continues with trifling modifications to regulate the relations of landlord and tenant, and we will endeavour to explain the position of the ryots as fixed by it.

Act X. of 1859 divides all the ryots of Bengal into three classes. The first consists of those who have held their land at a uniform rent since the permanent settlement in 1793. A ryot who can prove that he has paid the same rent for twenty years will be presumed to have done so since 1793, until the contrary be proved. This class of ryots is declared entitled to hold its land for ever at the old rate. It has, therefore, all that a tenant would desire. But unfortunately very few ryots have been able to prove their right to belong to it. The High Court has insisted on the strictest legal evidence of the fact that the rates have been uniform for twenty years, disregarding the most violent presumptions. As under the old system accounts were little regarded, such evidence was seldom forthcoming. The second class is composed of tenants who have held their lands for twelve years. The ryots of this class are declared to possess fixity of tenure, and to be liable to ejection only

for arrears of rent. The rent is, however, liable to enhancement by written notice on any of the three following grounds :—

1st.—That the rate of rent paid is below the prevailing rate payable by the same class of ryots for land of a similar description and with similar advantages, in the places adjacent.

2nd.—That the value of the produce, or the productive power of the land, have been increased otherwise than by the agency of or at the expense of the ryot.

3rd.—That the quantity of the land held by the ryot has been proved by measurement to be greater than the quantity for which rent has been previously paid by him.

The ryots who have held land for less than twelve years form the lowest class. No provision whatever is made for their protection, even in the matter of a right to the value of their improvements. It is not stated whether the rights of the first two classes are alienable or not—the courts have generally held that rights of possession at fixed rates may be sold, but that the right of occupancy may not.

Now, it will appear that the intentions of the Government in making this law were sufficiently liberal to the privileged ryots. The legislators wished to preserve under a reign of law the rights acquired while custom was the only ruler. Two causes, however, counteracted the just and benevolent design of Government.

On the first we would wish to touch but lightly, as it has in great measure ceased to operate. When the system was introduced the ryots were altogether unaccustomed to litigation, and did not know how to defend their rights. The zemindars on the other hand had, for half a century, given their most serious attention to the land laws, and were in the habit of suing each other yearly in our courts. A knowledge of legal procedure and chicane was traditional among them. They were, moreover, accustomed to look on success in a law case as a point of honour, and would spend money lavishly for such an object, even when they had but little to spare. Knowledge and wealth are powerful auxiliaries in the best courts, but their influence becomes overwhelming where the Judges are incompetent, and the procedure complicated. The agency improvised to meet the flood of litigation which followed the introduction of Act X. of 1859 consisted of a body of native Deputy Collectors, without legal training, at first without experience, and deriving such knowledge as they possessed of the land-tenures of Bengal exclusively from their training as land-holders—for they had all some share in estates. The greatest pressure was brought to bear to make them decide cases quickly, and most of them were in the habit of receiving sharp reprimands on account of the arrears on their files. It is not necessary to dwell on the nature of the justice which they dispensed—it had the effect of

everywhere doubling, the rents. Time has to a great extent worked the cure of this evil. The ryots have learned how to defend themselves, and our courts have been much improved. There is, however, still one abuse properly coming under this branch of the subject which requires a remedy. We have said that the rights of occupancy ryots can be enhanced only on a notice issued through the court. In practice, however, zemindars frequently demand enhancements without such formal notice, and subsequently sue for arrears at the new rate, alleging that the ryots gave a verbal assent to the enhancement, and producing accounts to show that they paid one or more instalments at the new rate. The ryots reply that they never consented, that the evidence to that effect is perjured, and the accounts fraudulent. The greater part of the litigation now pending in Pubna district turns on this issue, and in many cases the ryots have gained the day. Now, it is obviously desirable to save ryots from the possibility of being cheated out of their rights in the manner here indicated, to save courts from the necessity of deciding such painful subjects, and to secure to the zemindar the advantage of any enhancement to which the ryots have in fact agreed. In the North-West Provinces it has lately been provided that the rent of occupancy ryots can be enhanced only by legal notice, or a registered deed. We would suggest the introduction of the same rule into Bengal, and to make its operation more certain by removing all doubt as to whether the notice was or was not served, a point on which there is often much difficulty in arriving at a conclusion in Bengal, it might be provided that on receiving the writ the ryot should appear in court, and make a formal declaration as to whether he did or did not consent to the enhancement.

The second cause which has prevented the working of the law from being satisfactory was not felt at first and is only now coming into full operation. The rights of the privileged ryots are rapidly dying out, and their place is being taken by tenants-at-will. The rate of mortality, if we may use the expression, among the inferior land-tenures, is alarmingly rapid. Some become void on account of the non-payment of rent, as when a zemindar having quarrelled with a ryot purposely lets the rent fall into arrear, and then gets a decree against him for the dues of three years, with costs. Ryots occasionally wish to leave their tenures, having formed new connexions elsewhere by marriage or otherwise, and then, being unable to sell them, they have to let them lapse. Every year our great rivers sweep away whole villages, engulfing with the land all the rights of its cultivators. New formations are, it is true, thrown up elsewhere, but these belong exclusively to the landlord. Ryots often die leaving no heirs willing to succeed to their position. We believe that two per cent of the tenures must thus lapse to the

zemiindar every year. The framers of Act X. of 1859 probably calculated that these gaps in the ranks of the privileged classes would be supplied, as they were when custom decided everything, by the acquisition of occupancy rights by cultivators who had been twelve years in possession. But, strange to say, they left to the zemindar the power of preventing this recuperative action by inserting in every lease a clause to the effect that the tenant should never acquire rights of occupancy. At first landlords did not generally take this precaution from ignorance or neglect. But they have lately become most particular in the matter. As an instance of excessive caution, we may state that one of the largest zemindars of Bengal lately refused to give to Government a lease for more than eleven years for a few square yards of waste land wanted for a pound, lest the pound should acquire rights of occupancy. It has become evident that unless prompt and vigorous measures be taken, the race of privileged ryots will in time become extinct. In such a contingency, we would be open to the reproach of having, through sheer blindness and ignorance, ruined a great country : and we could only reply that we acted with the best intentions.

We would not venture to propose any remedial action not amply warranted by precedent. The problem to be solved is not new, and we have only to refer to the recorded answer. But where the Imperial Parliament, or the Government of India, has indicated a course to be followed in such cases, we ask that such an authority should be accepted as a guide. Principles so sanctioned cannot be lightly set aside, even when they clash with the interests of powerful individuals.

The great and radical defect of Act X of 1859 was that it permitted its policy to be set aside by private contract. It enacted that a ryot should acquire a right of occupancy by twelve years' possession, but not that any agreement to the contrary should be void. Now, this policy is directly opposed to the opinion of the first Indian legislators, and of all Indian statesmen who flourished before 1859. The old regulations carefully forbade landowners to enter into any engagement contrary to their letter or spirit, and even went so far as to enact that the form of the leases granted by a zemindar should invariably be approved by the District Officer. The policy is also condemned by the latest English statute on a similar subject. In the Irish Land Act of 1870, each clause favourable to the cultivator is guarded by the following proviso : " Any contract made by a tenant by virtue of which he is deprived of his right to make any claim which he would otherwise be entitled to make under this section, shall, as far as it relates to such claim, be declared void, both in law and in equity." The commentary on the law explains that all

attempts to effect the same object by indirect means, by conditions or by a penalty, or by any collateral matter, as by a bond given by a tenant on the understanding that it would only be enforced if such a claim was made, would be void. And, indeed, it seems a self-evident proposition that if it is desirable that in Bengal twelve years' possession should confer occupancy rights, then individuals should not be permitted to prevent the acquisition of such rights by contract. Contracts contrary to public policy are always held to be void. We think that the change most needed in the law is a provision to that effect. Such an enactment would at once put a stop to the action by which at this moment the zemindars are sapping the foundations of the social system of which they form a part.

In steering clear of Scylla we must take care not to run too close to Charybdis. It might happen that, if prevented from making special contracts to avoid the law, the landlords would in Bengal adopt the practices attributed by Mr. Hobhouse to their fellows of the North-Western Provinces, by ejecting tenants before the period of twelve years had elapsed. This object is occasionally effected even in the Lower Provinces, by the expedient of periodically changing the fields cultivated by each ryot. It is evident that some steps should be taken to prevent such conduct, as Government appears ridiculous when its efforts to save the ryot end in making him a vagabond, jealously prevented from remaining during twelve years in any one place. The evictions of tenants, who have not a right of occupancy, cannot be altogether forbidden, as abuses would follow from a law giving fixity of tenure to every squatter. The distinction between occupancy ryots and tenants-at-will should certainly be preserved. But there seems to be no reason why even a tenant-at-will should be absolutely at the mercy of his landlord. There is nothing to prevent us from giving to this class in Bengal the protection which Parliament has conceded to them in Ireland. In that country the power of eviction is left to the landlord, but it is counterbalanced by a right to compensation for disturbance vested in the tenant. By the third clause of the Irish Land Act a tenant, "disturbed in his holding by the act of the landlord, is entitled to compensation for such loss as the court shall find to be sustained by him by reason of quitting his holding, to be paid by the landlord, as the court may think just, so that the sum awarded does not exceed the scale following." The scale referred to, limits the amount of compensation for farms valued at less than ten pounds a year to seven years' rent, and for farms of the value of one hundred pounds a year to one year's rent, there being several gradations between these extremes. It has been objected by lawyers of experience that this scale is not sufficiently liberal, and that

it has not put a stop to Irish evictions. But we are confident that in this country it would be found adequate. It will be understood that in calculating the damages, the courts are not guided by any rule-of-thumb, but consider all the circumstances of each case. If there was sufficient reason for the eviction, the tenant would receive no compensation; if on the contrary it appears that the landlord acted from a desire to evade the law, he would be cast in substantial damages.

Additional security would be given to the ryots by an enactment giving to them a right to compensation for unexhausted improvements. In the Lower Provinces there is no law whatever on this subject. The zemindar may appropriate the work of his ryots' hands without paying anything for it. In the North-West the principle that a tenant is entitled to enjoy the fruits of his own labour has been legislatively acknowledged; but the details of the provisions made for securing him his rights are as bad as they can be, so bad that the law is of no use to him. In the first place the zemindar has the option of giving compensation by a rent charge, or by assigning another farm. A rent charge for a very small sum held by a ryot on the estate of a zemindar, with whom he had quarrelled, would be a right destitute of all value, because it could not be enforced, except by periodical litigation costing more than the income. The offer of another farm on the estate where he had already been once evicted would often be a mockery. Again, in the North-West compensation can be claimed only by evicted ryots, though the tenant, who voluntarily quits his holding, or who is forced to do so by bad treatment, has an equal moral right to his property. The true principle of compensation is that laid down in the Irish law, that every outgoing tenant is entitled to full compensation in money for all unexhausted improvements. This rule is guarded in Ireland by two provisions, still more needed in India; *firstly*, that all contracts purporting to bar this right are void; and *secondly*, that all improvements found on the holding shall be presumed to be the work of the tenant, until the contrary is proved.

The question as to whether a ryot's interest in his land is transferable, and if so in what way, has never been legislatively settled in these provinces. In the North-West, where the zemindaree interest seems to have obtained a temporary ascendancy in the legislature, the new Act declares that the rights of the first class of ryots (which is very small) are saleable, but that rights of occupancy are not transferable by grant, will, or otherwise, except between co-sharers. Even the right of inheritance is limited by capricious rules, being restricted to children, and to collateral relatives who have shared in the cultivation of the soil. Failing such heirs the zemindar becomes absolute owner,

and can settle a tenant-at-will on the holding. Lord Dalhousie's doctrine of the right of lapse was nothing to this. It seems to us a direct violation of the Hindu, Mahomedan, and English law on the subject of inheritance, whose sole effect will be to confiscate the property of widows and poor cultivators for the benefit of their landlords. It would not be justifiable if the rights of occupancy ryots were regarded as vexatious and noxious, and if it was our policy to let them die out as soon as possible. But as the question of the transferable nature of the rights of ryots has been now fairly raised, and cannot be passed over, we hope that it will eventually be settled in conformity with public policy, and with Irish precedent. In practice ryots are allowed to dispose of the good-will of their farms. Mr. Gladstone's Bill declared a similar custom, which had previously been held by the law courts as not binding, to be valid in law and in equity. On the same principle the transferable nature of all privileged tenures might be properly asserted in Bengal. Indeed, it seems capricious in this respect to distinguish between the two classes of ryots, who both possess hereditary rights. We do not at all understand on what principle the courts have acted. They have declared temporary leases of an interest intermediate between the landlord and tenant to be transferable, and have even held the Court of Wards bound to accept, as a manager of this class a person to whom such a lease had been sold by auction. In this case the landlord might fairly object that he had, after due consideration, accepted a particular tenant, but that he was not bound to take in his place another person, to whom he might have an objection. But no such exception can be taken to the transfer of rights of occupancy, which are of a permanent and hereditary character, and therefore are not merely personal.*

The transferable nature of a tenant's right once acknowledged, some relaxation would have to be made in the law for the realisation of rent. The principle in such matters is that sufficient pressure should be brought to bear on the debtor to make him punctual, but that he should not be unnecessarily harassed. Thus the zemindars have to pay rent to Government, but if they neglect to do so they are not ejected. Similarly a *putneedar*, holding an interest intermediate between those of the landlord and the tenant, cannot be ousted for arrears. In these cases the right, title, and interest of the defaulter is sold by public auction, and he gets the purchase-money, less his debt. In such matters our benevolence is like that of the society for the prevention of cruelty

* Some courts at present treat the rights of occupancy ryots as saleable. In Bengal such rights are generally sold in the Munsif's Court when a default occurs, and the zemindar receives the auction purchase without objection.

to animals, which extends only to the larger birds and beasts, and leaves the insects to take care of themselves. We should guard the rights of ryots at least as attentively as those of the idle men.

We hope that there can be little doubt that the measure we recommend would save the privileged classes of ryots from extinction. Under a system such as that we have sketched their tenures would seldom be forfeited, and when they did lapse they would be quickly renewed in the person of the new tenant. The ingenuity of the landlords would seek in vain for the means of counteracting the intention of the law. It is true that sales might become frequent, and that individuals might sink in the world. But this is a healthy action, which goes forward under the reign of custom, and need not be objected to under the reign of law. It has this great advantage, that it holds out to every labourer who has sufficient industry and forbearance to save money the prospect of rising by purchase to the position of an hereditary and privileged ryot.

It may be objected that such changes could benefit the ryot only at the expense of the zemindar. But this we altogether deny. The income of the zemindar would not be lowered by any of the measures we propose. The prospect of its increase would not be closed. For although as the right of a ryot lapsed another ryot would by degrees acquire his position he would not do so at the same rent. New tenants would be put in at a rack-rent, which would only become easy as the land improved.

In matters of this kind a single example is more valuable than any arguments, and we may confidently refer to the instance of Ireland, where a greater change in the position of the tenant was followed by a rise in the value of landed property.

We must, however, expect that any concession to the ryots will be opposed by the whole strength of the zemindaree interest. For if it hurts nothing else it will hurt their pride. The power of objection is one with which no man ought to be trusted in such a country as this—one which gives happiness to no man, and yet which no man will willingly surrender. And very few persons understand how strong the zemindaree interest is. The trading class of natives is small, it possesses little education, and takes no interest whatever in politics. All natives who possess any influence have some fractional share in landed property. Our Native Judges, Revenue officers, and Police officers, are all zemindars on a small or a large scale. So are all Native editors and lawyers. The richer landowners have seats in the Legislative Council; but it is not through them that the real influence of the body is exercised. Even the clerk on a salary of twenty rupees a month has invariably some landed property—not a small patch of ground which he could cultivate through servants and improve, but some decimal

of a share in an estate which he never saw. The newspapers are read only by the class of landowners, and are exclusively devoted to their interests. The Europeans, who know most about the country, and are naturally looked upon as authorities on such subjects, have all some interest in land adverse to that of the cultivators. Moreover, the zemindarec interest is as strong in its organisation, and its associations for the purpose of political movement, as it is in the intelligence of its members. The ryots on the other hand are altogether unrepresented in the legislature, in the press, in the public service, and the professions. They have never attempted to combine for political purposes. Their only hope of sympathy or justice is placed in England and in Englishmen. If the attention of the home public was once directed to the grievances, we have little doubt as to the result. It is not easy to get it generally understood that the cultivating classes of these provinces are slowly drifting towards pauperism and dependence, and that we have the power to arrest the movement. But if these truths were once realised by impartial persons, the proper remedy would be applied with promptitude. And when the change had been effected, the zemindars would be surprised to discover that it had done them no harm.

P. N.

ART. IV.—CRAM AND CRAMMERS.

WITHIN the last few months there have appeared in print statements respecting the system of Competitive Examination, involving serious errors in matters of fact, and calculated to produce an entire misconception of the actual working of the system. It is desirable that such misrepresentations should not remain unanswered; and we propose in the present article to dispose of some of the most flagrant, before we attempt to determine how the system really works.

If, indeed, we were to accept as facts the premises of the assailants of the system—*cadit quæstio*—the system stands self-condemned. But, in truth, the errors and exaggerations are almost incredible.

In the first place, one of the great objects sought to be obtained by the Competitive system, *viz.*, to reward merit, is studiously ignored. Then it is invariably assumed that no test of moral character is applied under the present, whereas it was so applied under the Patronage system. Undue stress is laid upon the value of originality, which is represented as being the great desideratum for the Public Service; while the value of study and culture is unduly depreciated, on the ground that the work of the Public Service is merely routine work. By this happy confounding of the several parts of the system, the most satisfactory results are arrived at. To prove the need of originality, what more is required than to figure to ourselves India in a state of mutiny, and all depending upon a Competition-Wallah's Themistoclean genius, *αὐτοσχέδιον τὰ δέοντα*. If, on the other hand, it is sought to discredit mere book-learning—our attention is confined to the lowest work of the most mechanical office.

Immeasurable abuse is heaped on the heads of the unfortunate "Crammers," although no sort of attempt is made to define the term, and it is quietly assumed that the only education worthy of the name is to be procured either at our Public Schools or at our Universities. Another grave subject for alarm is that the Service should be flooded with fustian, and deep apprehension and solicitude is expressed for the future of the "gentlemen" and of "common-place persons." It is also suggested that the health of successful candidates is now undermined by excessive and premature study; and that they are too good for their work, and consequently discontented. Moreover, the acknowledged evils of the Patronage system are either wholly ignored, or else alluded to in the gentlest and tenderest terms. And yet it must never be forgotten that that vicious system has been weighed in the balances, and has been

found wanting. It is not enough, therefore, that Competition should be in some ways objectionable as at present conducted. The question is whether upon the whole it is or is not preferable to Patronage.

Now, indeed, is there in reality much cause for fear that the old system will be revived. Its very advocates betray, by their half-hearted advocacy, their consciousness of the hopelessness of their cause. But instead of addressing themselves, like brave and honest men, to the amelioration of a system which they cannot displace, they prefer to adopt the conventional tactics of a barrister whose case is weak, and abuse the plaintiff's witnesses.

Without further preface we proceed to consider the principal objections urged against the present system of Competitive Examinations. They fall naturally under the three heads—moral, intellectual, physical.

1.—One of the most favourite and persuasive arguments put forth to prejudice the Competitive System is, that excellence in mere book-learning is no criterion of moral character. It is comfortably assumed that there is no connection whatever between moral and intellectual excellence, nay it is seemingly suggested that the inference ought rather to be the other way, and that moral rectitude is in inverse proportion to intellectual ability. It might almost seem a sufficient answer to this unwarrantable assumption to point out the fact that we are this year spending a million and a half upon the education of the poor, all of which money is assuredly wasted if their morals are not to be improved as well as their minds. But leaving abstract questions, let us test the value of the objection in the special case under consideration. Now, it might be supposed from the confident manner in which the moral argument is flourished in the face of the friends of Competition, that the strength of the old system was to be found in that direction. What then are we to make of such statements as the following?—

Sir R. Bromley in his evidence, given before the Commission of 1854, observes, "The existing defect of the Civil Service is in my opinion *its want of high moral tone* which is so essential in conducting the common affairs of life." It is instructive to compare this opinion with Mr. Booth's dictum (Papers, p. 131-133), "The lower you descend in the social scale, the less is the probability that the candidates for the Civil Service will possess *those moral qualifications* which are more important than intellectual ones in the practical business of official life." There were others, however, besides Sir R. Bromley who failed to detect these "moral qualifications" under the old régime. The following is Major Graham's statement of the condition of the Registry Office established by Sir R. Peel 1836. "A great number of those appointed

were very objectionable on account of age, on account of their broken state of health, and on account of their *bad character* and want of proper qualifications. One of these persons had been imprisoned as a fraudulent debtor; another was detected by myself in a fraudulent act; one was unable from the state of his health to associate with the other clerks, and died, shortly after a separate room had on this account been provided him. The Accountant had to be removed for inefficiency: the Deputy Registrar did not attend the office for fifteen months, when his appointment was cancelled as unnecessary; the services of the Solicitor attached to the office were also not required and his duties were transferred to the Solicitor to the Treasury; twelve of the least efficient clerks were discharged by me on my appointment in 1842, and eleven or twelve more have been removed in subsequent years on the same ground, besides four who were discharged by my predecessor for *disgraceful conduct*." What said Sir C. Trevelyan and Sir S. Northcote in their famous report of 1855? "Admission to the Civil Service is eagerly sought after, but it is for the unambitious and the indolent or incapable that it is chiefly desired." Again, Sir C. Trevelyan in 1853, speaking of the Indian Civil Service: "Although the great majority of the (Haileybury) cadets are well-conducted and honourable young men, India is a sink towards which the scum and refuse of the English professions habitually gravitates." Yet again, "At Haileybury there was always a tail and fag-end of bad bargains, reprobates and professed idlers and men of pleasure. Now those men were perfectly well known. They were as well known to the professors as they were to the other students, and that fag-end ought to have been cut off."

- The old system therefore was by no means a guarantee of moral character. We do not for a moment contend that competition will insure all the moral virtues. What possible system can do so? But we assert most positively that if there be any truth in the generally-accepted belief that indolence is the mother of vice, the chances in favour of the increased morality of the Civil Service under the Competitive System are unquestionable. As Professor Jowett writes—"University experience abundantly shews that in more than nineteen cases out of twenty, men of attainments are also men of character. The perseverance and self-discipline necessary for the acquirement of any considerable amount of knowledge are a great security that a young man has not led a dissolute life." To a like effect spoke also the following no mean educational authorities—*doctrinaires*, the opponents of competition—call them—the late Professor Thompson, the late Bishop of Calcutta, Cotton, the pre-ent Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Exeter, and the Dean of Christ Church. So far as to the natural tendency of Competitive Examinations to promote a higher

morale in the Civil Service. But are no pains taken to investigate the candidate's character and antecedents? So far from this being the case, "we doubt," says the *Spectator*, "whether any candidate's antecedents have been so thoroughly sifted as those appointed by this method. The Civil Service Commissioners, before they examine at all, institute a most thorough investigation of the moral character and repute, and have very often discovered disqualifying facts behind the most unexceptionable testimonials." Nor is this all. When a candidate has proved successful in the Examination, a confidential statement is required to be filled up by one well acquainted with him, entering into the fullest particulars as to steadiness, inclination for work, and even solvency.

And here we think we may leave the moral aspect of the question, only recording our indignant protest against these disingenuous attempts to blind the eye of the public by *ad captandum* arguments addressed to that very common and little creditable prejudice which exists in the minds of common-place people, who being conscious of the deficiency of their own understanding, and of the depth of their own ignorance, welcome with an unholy joy the tidings of the natural alliance, between stupidity and virtue, and would fain persuade themselves that the best educated are also the most depraved of mankind.

II.—As to the educational value of the Civil Service Examinations, we begin by at once disclaiming any intention to represent them as perfect. We are very far indeed from thinking them to be so, as will appear more particularly before we finally quit the subject. But this belief will not incline us the less energetically to protest against the ignorance, the flippancy, and the glaring misstatements which have been brought forward to pass as arguments and to scatter dust in the eyes of the public. One of the first remarks that naturally occur to one, even from a cursory perusal of the diatribes directed against Competition, is the marvellous adroitness with which 'question-begging' phrases have been coined, and the more than Juvenalian perfection of word-painting which is exhibited. The system forsooth is 'Chinese': if persisted in it 'must fix the national intellect in the cataleptic immobility of China'; the competitive impulse is 'a brute instinct which modern competition has most offensively developed among half-educated Englishmen, and which every true man must shrink from with loathing and abhorrence'; the examinations are 'eccentric,' 'mechanical,' 'artificial'; the examinations will soon be 'positive Chinese puzzles'; the supporters of Competition are 'doctrinaires'; private tutors are 'a gang of crammers,' they pursue 'the dishonest and mercenary system of cram'; they are 'those mischievous parasites of our educational system known as coaches and grunders'; they are 'professional masters of the degrading art

of cramming'; the successful candidates are 'exhausted and spiritless bookworms, they are 'a fortuitous concourse of atoms'; they are 'docile,' and so on, and so on. Let us consider these allocations in some detail, and first with regard to the so-called 'crammers'. The opponents of the Competitive System presume apparently that this is a word which proclaims its own meaning, and accordingly they do not condescend to explain it. We have clearly, however, a right to demand that its meaning should be explained. All that we can discover is that it serves the purpose of a singularly convenient and comprehensive term of abuse. It would appear to imply both ignorance and dishonesty, lust of lucre and low cunning, and it is applied indiscriminately to all and each of those who prepare candidates for the Civil Service. Does it then come to this that no educational position is to be esteemed reputable unless it is overshadowed by the dignity of a Warden and of a band of often useless and expensive Fellows? By what right are the Public Schoolmasters and College Tutors presumed to enjoy the exclusive title of teachers? It is full time that the so-called 'crammers' were heard in their own defence. They have suffered patiently much unmerited abuse, consoling themselves with the reflection that they are not the only class who as a class have been ignorantly reviled. The fashion of abuse changes—lawyers, physicians, the clergy, and even the sacred order of the peerage, have in turn had to submit to their fair share of insolent and unmeaning vituperation. It is now the turn of the crammers. 'Strike but hear them.' Indeed, the unblushing effrontery of some of the statements, gravely published as facts, would be diverting were they not cruel and wicked lies. We content ourselves with simply contradicting the assertion, that crammers 'impress, crimp, sharp, quick boys for the service (Indian Civil), wafranting their passing on your pledging them a heavy premium.' This statement contains precisely the same amount of truth as the similar assertion that all lawyers are cheats and liars. Equally and transparently false is the dictum that 'English Literature in the sense of the Civil Service Commissioners (and consequently in the sense of the crammers) means the Handbook of English Literature by Angus, or Shaw's Student's English Literature'; and this, that 'the whole education of numberless young Englishmen consists in reading up the questions set during the last fifteen years at the Civil Service examinations.' The utterer of these valuable remarks stands self-convicted either of stolid ignorance or of malignant falsehood. But further we are told that cramming is a 'gambling trade.' Why 'gambling' any more than the profession of the law? At this rate it was gambling when Erskine threw up the army, and donned a wig and gown with scarcely a sixpence in his pocket. Again it was gambling when Edmund Burke

determined to forsake his native land, and seek fame and fortune in London; and it was also gambling (to quote a more modern instance) when young Adolphe Thiers arrived in Paris from Provence with nothing in his pocket but a prize-essay on Vauvenargues. If this be gambling, what but gambling is the profession of a physician who is unable to buy a practice, of a painter, of a sculptor, of a man of letters? The reproach of being a gambler and adventurer is one which the crammer may well be content to bear with the Erskines, the Burkes, the Eldons, and the Thiers. What some call gambling, others may call courage. Perhaps, however, the term gambling may be used as vaguely as crammer, and may signify nothing more than that the crammer realises enormous profits. Now even if the profits of successful crammers were excessive, as compared with those of Public Schoolmasters and College Tutors, the crammer, since he is exposed to far greater possibilities of loss than teachers in established institutions, ought not in fairness to be grudged the possibility of greater gains. The remarks Adam Smith makes with respect to barristers apply equally to crammers. Both enter for a lottery, and in a strictly fair lottery those who draw the prizes ought to gain all that is lost by those who draw the blanks. The lottery of the law and of cramming is not strictly a fair one, but it naturally and justly happens that the success of the few is proportionately greater than in some other branches of education by reason of the greater number of unsuccessful competitors. Besides compare the life of a crammer with that of an University Don or of a Public Schoolmaster. The Don or the Schoolmaster can command if they choose, the former six months, the latter three months, holidays. The crammer is forced to be satisfied with a few weeks at the most. At all events, for ten or eleven months in the year, he is cooped up in the dirt and smoke of London. The Don's and the Schoolmaster's regular work is more or less in the country, and for months they luxuriate in it. Add to this the greater anxiety and uncertainty of the crammer's life, the low repute which at present, as we affirm most unjustly, attaches to his calling, and the greater expense of living in London, and the justice of his claim to the chance of greater gains would seem to be established.

Another reproach cast in the teeth of crammers is that they advertise. Now, apart from prejudice, is there any perceptible difference between one man's publishing a novel with the announcement that it is by the author of *Waverley*, and another's advertising to the effect that he has just passed the first successful competitor for the I.C.S. examination. Bacon observes in his *Essays*, that one of the principal uses of a friend is that you can ask him to sing your praises with more effect and decency than you can

sing them yourself. Perhaps some moralists might doubt whether the prostitution of friendship for private advantage be not more indecent than a temperate and modest statement of the results of honest labour, even though put forward by the labourer himself. 'Clear your mind of cant,' said Dr. Johnson to the feeble Boswell. The words will bear repeating, even to the present enlightened age. Of course there are advertisements and advertisements. The remarks just made are not intended to exhibit any sympathy with the gentlemen who describe themselves as the practisers of every Christian virtue with truly Pecksniffianunction. Men of this description, whose understandings must be on a par with their moral delicacy, occupy a wholly different category, and may safely be left to the derision which their imbecility and indecency must inspire.

Before quitting the subject, it will not be out of place to refer to the practice of Testimonials, which indeed come under the head of advertisements by the agency of friends before alluded to. How misleading and inaccurate, not to say fulsome, such compilations usually are, is perfectly well known to all those who have dipped only casually into such singularly uninteresting literature. It seems to be a recognized principle that men may venture upon assertions on behalf of others which they would scorn to propound for their own benefit. Crammer's advertisements will not lose much by a comparison with Testimonials.

But whether our business be a 'gambling trade' or no, it is a distinct falsehood to assert that its object is 'to defeat the purpose of competition and to secure the prize to adroit and ingenious cramming as against true *general* education and genuine ability.' Now, in what particular is a crammer's course of education more special than that of a Public School? At a Public School, they teach or profess to teach Classics, English (of late years), Mathematics, Geography, History and Modern Languages. The same subjects are found to be the staple of the crammer's course. Again, the Cambridge Tripos, just as the I.C.S. Examination, nominally embraces the whole range of the Classics. There would not, therefore, seem to exist any fatal necessity why cram should be invariably found in the one case and be conspicuously absent in the other. But whether there be cram at Oxford and Cambridge or no, whatever that misty phrase may import, we desire emphatically to deny that either the Public Schools or the Universities provide a general as opposed to a special education. The great object of Public Schools, educationally speaking, is to obtain honours at the Universities, which honours, whether Scholarships, First Classes, or Fellowships, are given for success in examinations, the subjects of which are as definite and special as those of the C.S. examinations. At the Universities

themselves, in how many instances does, or at all events did until quite lately, an Honour man succeed without a Private Tutor, and what is the difference between their case and any other special preparation?

By some, it is sapiently supposed that the Civil Service Commissioners, the Examiners and the Crammers together form a huge conspiracy cemented by one common interest—to rob the public. To this we reply that there is absolutely no connection whatsoever between the three classes. They are unknown to each other except by public report—their respective interests are completely dis severed—they merely form part of the machinery of competitive examinations in the same way as Judge, Counsel and Jury form part of the administration of justice. They are in the habit of freely criticising each other's proceedings, and not to waste more words upon such ridiculous calumnies are entirely independent of one another.

It is of no small importance that this fact should be clearly apprehended, for it is tacitly assumed amongst other tacit assumptions, and their name is legion, that the Public Schools and Universities are immeasurably superior to crammers in that respect. The consequence is that the loftiest ideals of education are solemnly propounded, and we are asked to cry shame because the Competitive System confessedly fails to attain to the measure of their stature. Thus we are told "the examination becomes the end, not the means. Knowledge is studied not for its own sake or to enlarge the mind, but simply as the necessary training for a certain intellectual conflict." Coleridge, we all know, found Poetry its own exceeding great reward, but how many civil servants under the Patronage system loved knowledge for its own sake? The answer is easy. They neither loved knowledge for its own sake nor for the sake of any thing else. Look round the circle of the professions and make a list of those who love knowledge for its own sake. How many men have like Faraday deliberately preferred knowledge to riches? *Quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam premia si tollas?*

Again, the Quarterly Reviewer's belief "that a man who should read hard at Oxford or Cambridge, but with a determination not to take honours, would at the end of his time be a better read, better educated man, a more truly accomplished scholar than one who had given the same amount of work to the beaten track with the usual object in view" is perfectly idle and beside the purpose. We have all of us read of Bacon, of Burke and Curran, of F. W. Robertson, and others of similar mental calibre, who have despised the ordinary curriculum of their respective Universities. But such instances must necessarily form the rarest exceptions. In the case of the vast majority, self-directed,

study means either total lethargy or still more fatally a strenuous indolence and complete dissipation of the mental energies. So thought at least one of the great men whose names we have just quoted. F. W. Robertson thus expresses himself in a letter to a young friend—Kennion—about to enter upon a College life: "The chief point seems the question of reading for honours. Now I believe with you that honours make little or nothing in practice so far as they bear upon a man's future success. That is, the prestige of them does little in life—is forgotten, or slightly looked upon by the large world. But the mental habits got insensibly during the preparation for them are, I think, *incapable of being replaced by any thing*, and this quite independently of whether a man succeeds or fails in his attempt. To my idea the chief advantage is *the precluding of discursiveness*. For three years or four a man has an aim—a long, distant, definite aim. *I defy any young man to create this aim for himself.* * * * At College I did what you are now going to do, and I now feel I was *utterly, mortally, irreparably wrong*. The excitement of theological controversy, questions of the day, politics, gleams and flashings of new paths of learning, led me at full speed for three years modifying my plans perpetually. *Now I would give £200 a year to have read on a bad plan chosen for me, but steadily.*"

The Gospel of sweetness and light—of *Geist* and anti-Philistinism—is beautiful and abstractedly true, but it is full as true that England owes to Philistinism her place amongst the nations. "These things have we done" even though we have, "left the others undone." The simple fact is that every thing in general and nothing in particular will not suit an Englishman. Moreover, it would seem easier even for an Englishman to acquire diversity of intellectual interests than concentration of mind, and concentration is the secret of excellence. "I well know," says Robertson in the same letter from which we have just quoted, "the discouragement which there is in feeling how little of all that can be known is within our grasp, and the temptation which there is to try a hundred new fields of knowledge. But the man who succeeds in life, is, allowing for the proverbial exaggeration, generally the man *unius libri*." It may be painful for men of culture like Mr. Matthew Arnold to recognise the unpleasant truth, but it is nevertheless true that the many are Philistines and will need many Arnolds and many parables—if indeed men's natures are ever changed by parables, "could warning make the world more just or wise"—before they are unphilistinised.

The many, *i.e.*, the ordinarily intelligent, as opposed to philosophers or geniuses with whom the Civil Service has no concern, can only be brought to study at all by a keen sense of positive prospective advantage of a practical character, and that at no

distant date. Without this *lene tormentum* their genius refuses to work at all. How idle, then, to deplore the fact that they will not philosophically cultivate every faculty of the mind instead of being thankful that they will respond to the spur of honourable ambition, albeit in a narrow groove. It is all very well for Mr. Lowe complacently to congratulate himself that in hours which should have been devoted to mastering Thucydides and Tacitus, he enjoyed the stolen sweets of Byron and Moore, and to attribute his success in life entirely to such lâches of morality in the worship of *Geist* (although it must be patent to every one that he owes such success mainly to a diligent prosecution of the ordinary classical studies prescribed to his youth), but the generality of boys are not Lowes, and it is useless to argue as though they were.

But supposing the necessity, however deplorable, of a special education be conceded, we have not yet fathomed the mystery of the fatal monosyllable, that *multum in parvo*—cram. Inasmuch as those who use the phrase with most dexterity do not condescend to explain it, we must attempt conjecturally to supply a definition. Shall we be wrong then in supposing that what is intended to be conveyed is something to the following effect? Is it not implied that knowledge or the semblance of knowledge is violently injected into a passive recipient who carries it about with him undigested and indigestible like the 'crude peacock' of the Roman gormandisers. The question at once arises—and it is a most pertinent one—is such a process possible? Upon this vital point we join issue with the opponents of the Competitive System, and we deny that cramming is possible save to an infinitesimal extent and in very exceptional cases. 'We assert that it is not merely a crime but a blunder, and one into which so astute a body of men as crammers are invariably represented to be, would be unlikely to fall. For it is to be observed that cram means successful cram, the greatest crime of Civil Service tutors being their success. "How dare such ignorant and abandoned beings presume to distance the recognised professors of education in the established institutions of the country?" It is clearly on the face of the matter absurd, to imagine that they could beat them by fair means. What remains, therefore, but to postulate foul?

Before attempting to prove our assertion that successful cram is impossible, we too must postulate our pre-requisite—*viz.*, good examiners. But given good examiners, however glibly the phrase cram may run off the tongue, it is, we repeat, unmeaning. Will any one who has had the smallest experience in tuition pretend that it is possible, by any violent or unnatural process whatsoever, to ensure a faithful and idiomatic translation of Virgil, or of Horace, of Sophocles, or of Thucydides?

Can the art of Latin and Greek composition be crammed? If the facts of English history can be crammed, can the use that is to be made of them be also crammed? "For they teach not their own use, but that is a wisdom without them and above them won by observation." Again, as to English Literature. No doubt, so long as it is thought reasonable to test critical ability by such questions as "Who wrote the *Polyolbion* and *Smectymnus*?" or "Where will you find 'None but the brave deserve the fair'?" and 'The rest is all but leather and prunella'?"—so long, we say, as such insults to common sense are gravely offered in the name of education, so long, most assuredly, will it be possible to cram and no longer. Meanwhile, it is unjust to suppose that such questions are even now fair specimens of the tests applied to the better sort of candidates. No one who has had any experience in the matter can doubt that the successful candidates in the I.C.S. Examinations have very considerable acquaintance with their native tongue—that they have carefully studied several of our most famous authors, and that they have more than a superficial smattering of others. Moreover, if English Literature as a whole is felt (as it cannot but be felt) to be too wide a subject for a youth of twenty or twenty-one to grapple with, in any thing like an adequate manner, why should not a judicious selection be made from the masterpieces of the best authors and a searching examination in these selections be insisted upon? If such a system as this were adopted it would be no more possible to cram Shakespeare or Milton, Bacon or Locke, than it is to cram the Calculus, or to pitchfork the beauties of Pindar or Catullus down a dullard's throat.

In hazarding these assertions we are not even deterred by the opinion of so weighty a critic as Mr. Matthew Arnold, whose remarks are perpetually quoted by the opponents of Competition as though they were conclusive. Let us see to what they amount. Mr. M. Arnold observes:—"I once bore part in the Examination for the I.C.S., and I can truly say that the candidates to whom I gave the highest marks were almost without exception the candidates whom I would not have appointed. They were crammed men, not formed men; the formed men were the public schoolmen, but they were ignorant on the special matter of Examination, English Literature." These words are doubtless sententious and oracular, but for a plain man it seems difficult to understand upon what data Mr. Arnold could have come to the conclusion that the public schoolmen were the formed men, if of the only subject in which he examined them they were ignorant. It is at least evident that they were far from being formed in that subject. Moreover, if an examiner with the eye of genius detects that a man is formed (whatever that not very precise expression may imply), why does he not give him marks for being so, and, on

the other hand, by parity of reasoning, deduct marks from the crammed man? *Judex damnatur cum nocens absolvitur.*

Another proof of the evils of cram, ordinarily deemed conclusive, is what may be termed the Head Master's argument. It is the fashion for Head Masters to assert that the results of the C.S. Examinations precisely transpose the proper order of merit as tested by their own experience of the youths in question, which they appear to think infallible. Now, waiving the question of infallibility, has it never happened to these Head Masters to find the same boys change places even in consecutive examinations and when the conditions of the contest have remained unchanged? How much more so then, when the youths have grown to be their own masters and must necessarily depend far more upon their own industry and energy? One would really imagine that boys who succeed at school have never been known to fail at college, and *vice versâ*.

But, says the Quarterly Reviewer, the knowledge you impart is not real knowledge; it is like the water in the vessels of the Danaïdes; it is ephemeral and by no means a *κτῆμα ἐς αἰετ*. Now in the first place all knowledge whether taught at school and college or self-acquired is comparatively transitory. Why does an Oxford or Cambridge Don or Public Schoolmaster re-peruse the oft-read text? The answer is plain, because he forgets much that he once knew or thought he knew. Did a man retain the knowledge of all the books he had ever read and read carefully too, how differently stored would our minds be. It is not given to every one to be a Macaulay or a Niebuhr. In this sense we fully admit that much that has been painfully acquired by Competition-Wallahs will become dull and faint, but it is untrue to say it will "leave not a wrack behind." Besides, even if such were the case, what proof is adduced by the Quarterly Reviewer of such total oblivion? None whatever. His statement is merely an *ipse dixit* delivered *ex cathedra*, the object of which comfortable assumption is to bolster up a preconceived opinion. What is to hinder us from asserting the direct contrary with similar vehemence and with equal absence of proof?

Meanwhile, whatever the successful Indian candidates may forget, somehow or another they appear to rise in the Service and to command the approbation of their superiors, if we may trust the following testimony. In May, 1869, the *Times*' Correspondent in Calcutta analysed the position of the thirteen Competition-Wallahs who went out to India in 1856, showing that of 567 names on the Bengal Civil List 1869, eleven of these thirteen (two of them were dead) stood between 235 and 247th on the list, with salaries varying from £1,590 per annum up to £3,300 per annum. "In less than twelve years," he wrote, "the first

eleven Competition-Wallahs have thus worked themselves up into most important and well-paid positions. All are above the average. Almost all are men of mark and several even of the very highest promise."

Having now attempted to rebut a few of the most commonplace assertions as to the arts of the so-called crammers, let us consider the other hypothesis—whether it is altogether incredible that success with Crammers, as is found to be upon the whole the case with human affairs, should not be unconnected with merit. Why should it be supposed that the Universities and Public Schools monopolise utility in teaching? Prestige apart, there would seem to be several excellent reasons why the despised crammer should upon his merits prove a formidable rival.

First, his bread entirely depends upon his ability in teaching, which is not the case in the venerable institutions above mentioned. A man is chosen to be a Public Schoolmaster or College Tutor chiefly because he has unravelled the intricacies of Sophocles or of the Integral Calculus. But it requires very little experience to be aware that knowledge and intellectual ability are by no means synonymous with ability in teaching. Then there is the serious difficulty of dismissing from a school an incompetent teacher, who may be a very worthy man, who has highly distinguished himself at College and has probably married upon the strength of a supposed life-long enjoyment of a lucrative post. An incompetent crammer is summarily dismissed by the Public. It will probably be objected that, incompetence apart, *esprit de corps*, and a high conscientious sense of duty will be found to be more than an equivalent for vulgar self-interest. We fully admit that amongst a staff of College Tutors and Public Schoolmasters, may be found men of the most self-devoted and untiring industry; but speaking of the class as a class, it would be absurd to pretend that practical irremovability does not exercise a baneful influence upon such bodies, nor does it argue cynicism or pessimism to avow the belief. Without insisting on the fact that a master, though able to impart knowledge to an orderly class is often physically or morally unable to control the brutality (and no boys are so brutal as British boys) of an unruly one, a defect which has been partially remedied by the admirable institution of private and separate tuition; there remains the serious and undeniable evil of the excessive size of classes in a public school. This is a most important point, and the smallness of the crammer's classes, where he has a class at all, powerfully contributes towards his success. But the question of success does not simply rest with the tutor. In the words of a well-known school theme—"Education requires the cordial co-operation of the person educated." Now it is not too much to say that the great object of

a crammer's pupils is to learn, that of boys at school to abstain from learning. It is simply impossible to exaggerate the effect produced by this keenness of emulation. Foes and friends of Competition alike admit the untiring industry, however misplaced, of competitors, and if no other result but this were produced by the system we should claim that it had conferred no small boon upon the community. Moreover, however desirous to learn Public Schools have only time to teach the first-rate boys; whereas it is the second and third rate who form the staple of the class from which the Civil Service is recruited.

Such are some of the advantages which a crammer possesses over a Public Schoolmaster, and which do not seem to us to have been sufficiently recognised, if recognised at all. It very often happens too that a particular defect, which is in truth incidental to all teaching, is described as though it was inherent in what is called the cramming system alone. Let us take for example the question of originality. Now that originality is as desirable as it is unfortunately rare is a truism. But is it pretended that Public Schools and Universities are the seedplots and nurseries of originality? The remarks of Mr. Helps, whose authority the opponents of Competition are so fond of claiming, are perfectly general, and will suit Public Schools and Universities fully as well as crammers. "Young people," he says, "very often manifest a readiness to acquire knowledge merely from a certain docility of mind which makes few enquiries, is easily satisfied with what the teacher tells it, and never eases to take an original and independent view of what is taught." We say, ditto to Mr. Burke, and we hold most strongly that a teacher is good just in proportion as he makes it his principal study to correct such docility, and to stimulate his pupil to take "original and independent views of what he is taught." He should act with those melancholy but ever-memorable words of the great historian's ever ringing in his ears, *ὄντως ἀταλὰίπυρος τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐτοῖμα μᾶλλον τρίπονται.* Nor is it impertinent to remark in weighing the probabilities of the possession of originality by Public Schoolmasters and crammers, that all established educational societies are apt to be penetrated with the spirit of cliqueism, which is but another name for narrowness and bigotry. The crammer is at all events free from such trammels, and may, if he please, tread an independent path of his own, unawed by the majesty of Head Masters, or Common Rooms. But admitting, or rather strenuously asserting, that the value of originality can scarcely be overrated, we yet fail to see how the possession of this quality is so imperative a necessity in the Civil Service. In many posts of monotonous drudgery, docility, so far from being an evil, is a positive advantage, just as it is with the rank and file of the army. In this statement we are supported by

the authority of Sir C. Trevelyan and Sir S. Northcote. "In many offices," say they, "it is found that the superior ability of young men renders it much easier to make valuable public servants of them, than of those more advanced in life, especially where the work consists chiefly of account business." Before quitting the subject of cram, it may not be out of place to comment upon the singular apathy displayed in the matter by the natural guardians of Education in England—our University authorities and the Heads of our Public Schools. For cram either is practised or it is not. If it is not, why do they not discountenance the attempts made in order to mislead the public? If it is, why do they not come to the rescue? So far from doing so, they themselves 'touch the accursed thing,' and lend it the countenance of their authority. The great bulk of the Examiners for the Indian Civil Service are University men—nay more, they are representative men of their Universities; and if the Examination is a sham and a delusion, the honour of the Universities is thereby and to that extent tarnished. We affirm most confidently that cramming is impossible with good examiners, if they are free to carry out their own convictions. That they should stoop to prostitute their own convictions, and pander to what they know to be an immoral system is inconceivable.

III.—It remains that we should speak of the *candidates for examination*. And indeed it is full time that a little common sense was directed to this point, for upon no portion of the Competitive system has such misplaced ingenuity been expended, or such extravagant and contradictory assertions been made, "What are the sort of men," asks the Quarterly Reviewer, "that prevail in the I.C.S. Examinations? The men with special aptitude for book-learning, with specially receptive minds and retentive memories." But Lord Macaulay was a man with special aptitude for book-learning, he was also a man with a specially receptive mind and a specially retentive memory. So was Sir W. Scott. So was Sir G. Cornewall Lewis. So are Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli. The oracle goes on, "who have no strong love of field sports or athletic exercise to divert them from their studies; who can and will sit over their books nine or ten hours a day from fifteen to nineteen or twenty." Now so far as we have been able to discover, the only athletic exercise necessary to govern India is that of riding, which is assuredly not incompatible with a taste for study. Pitt, Peel, Palmerston, were all of them great riders. One thing is quite certain, that it is much easier for a scholar to learn to ride than for an athlete to acquire a taste for books. It is quite as absurd to demand that every Competition-Wallah must be a proficient in athletics, as to suppose that our own magistrates and professional men must necessarily be keen sportsmen. Meanwhile we believe it to be a fact that a successful candidate

before going to India must produce a certificate of qualification from a riding school or from a Master of Fox Hounds. The Quarterly Reviewer writes as though out-door exercise was the principal employment of Competition-Wallahs, and seems to ignore the fact that they have judicial duties to perform requiring an acute and searching intellect, and a knowledge of his much-despised book-learning in the shape of Law. Again, he might just as truly assert that the Oxford First-classman or Cambridge Wrangler sit over their books nine or ten hours a day, from Matriculation to Degree. We can only affirm from our own experience that it is a very rare feat for an Oxford First-classman to devote even eight hours a day to study during the whole of his course. We only know of one man who read eight hours a day for three years, and he obtained the extraordinary distinction of a double first both in Moderations and in the Final Schools. We may add, for the benefit of the Quarterly Reviewer, that so far from the gentleman in question being an "exhausted spiritless bookworm," he is and always has been a man of the keenest animal spirits, and occupies at this present moment a position involving great responsibility and labour, and is notorious for his superabundant vigour and energy.

A little further of these wonderful bookworms are described as "men of special gifts." Everything about them indeed seems to be special. They have a special aptitude for book-learning, specially receptive minds, specially retentive memories, special gifts, and they are specially prepared. "Tell him I'm a devil of a fellow," says Bob Acres in the Play. The Quarterly Reviewer seems to have been entrusted with a similar commission by the opponents of the Competitive System with respect to the Competition-Wallahs. But the secret of all this hyperbolic praise and fulsome eulogy—the terms of which the Competition-Wallahs themselves would be the first to disclaim, conscious as they must be that their case is very much that of those described by Horace: *extremi primorum extremis usque priores*—soon oozes out. For we are presently informed that these intellectual paragons "are generally somewhat defective in other endowments," such as "observation, quickness of insight, the perceptive faculties generally." How exquisitely ludicrous to those who have gauged the intellect of these Competition-Wallahs, in preparing them for Examination, to read that their minds have so entirely swamped their bodily senses that the latter are perfectly useless. And we are asked to condemn a system on the strength of such arguments as these!

If this is all that can be alleged in its disfavour its "sickly reputation" is like indeed to "outlive many a robust constitution." To escape from the intolerable evils of abnormally developed

intellect, the Quarterly Reviewer proposes a plan of truly seductive simplicity. "We venture to say that to take the Eleven of Eton, Rugby, and Harrow, and the Cambridge and Oxford Eights, and then throw out the nine or ten who wrote the worst abstract of a chapter of history, would give you forty far better embryo rulers of India than you will ever get in the forty candidates who obtain the largest number of marks in an Examination, let that Examination be ever so searching, subtle, and well-ordered." This is indeed a powerful contribution to the Gospel of Muscular Christianity, and reduces the duties of a schoolmaster to a minimum. If such an argument is to prevail, it is obvious that, instead of fresh tutors, a judicious importation of professional cricketers and instructors of the noble art of self-defence is what is required. When such wild theories as this are gravely propounded, it may not be amiss to remind the Quarterly Reviewer of the practice of the First Napoleon when selecting commanders of men. It is well known that he made military schools and open competitive examination the test of the mental qualifications for admission to his army. He was wont to speak of the Polytechnic School, the field of the most systematised applications of the principle of competitive examinations, as the hen that laid him golden eggs.

Before quitting the 'sickly, bookworm' question, we may fairly ask whether, under the Patronage system, the health of Civil Servants was invariably secured. Sir C. Trevelyan and Sir S. Northcote shall answer the query. "It may be noticed," they write, "in particular, that the comparative lightness of the work and the certainty of provision in case of retirement, owing to bodily incapacity, furnish strong inducements to the parents and friends of sickly youths to endeavour to obtain for them employment in the service of the Government; and the extent to which the public are consequently burdened, first with the salaries of officers who are obliged to absent themselves from their duties on account of ill-health, and afterwards with their pensions when they retire on the same plea, would hardly be credited by those who have not had opportunities of observing the operation of the system." Upon such a statement comment is superfluous. "Look now upon this picture and on this." Dr. (now Sir W.) Gull, whose testimony we presume will not be impeached, and who examines the candidates for the Indian Civil Service Examination, and re-examines them before their departure, reported that 296 candidates examined by him showed a remarkably healthy physique, 121 an average physique, and only 52 any signs of delicacy. "It has been forced upon me," he writes, "that superior physical health and strength are generally essential to success in these competitive examinations." After this we trust that we have heard the last of broken constitutions and "spiritless bookworms."

We have not, however, exhausted the list of objections to candidates, brought forward by the opponents of Competition. We are told that a successful competition man may be a very 'vulgar fellow. Granted. He may, also be a very ugly fellow, or a very short fellow. William III. was a bad-mannered fellow; so was Dr. Johnson. It was not very good manners in Cardinal Ximenes to read a book whenever a lady visitor talked nonsense to him and wasted his time; nor was it pleasant manners in Sir J. Reynolds to drop his ear-trumpet under similar circumstances. For our own parts we should not shrink, when an adequate public advantage was at stake, from running the risk of offending the Chesterfield and Grandison school. Those exquisites who rate the kid-glove elegancies of personal appearance and address above the solid worth of intellectual ability combined, as we contend in the main it will be found to be, with probity and purity of life, must be permitted to indulge their melancholy regrets for the past, and their gloomy vaticinations for the future. Moreover, this fact must not be forgotten that, society now-a-days being more democratic, Grandisonian airs and Chesterfield bows are estimated at far less than their former value. "It is too late a week."

The Quarterly Reviewer, indeed, in his usual sophistical fashion, insists upon the importance of England's being *governed* by gentlemen, as if it were ought but the merest rhetorical flourish to suggest that the Civil Service governs England. We had hitherto in our simplicity supposed that she was governed by the three Estates of the realm. At the same time, it is notorious that some of our best Bishops and Chancellors—of our most eminent Physicians and ablest Officers—have been men of humble birth. At all events, the 'gentleman' argument will not hold good in the case of India. As Colonel Rathbone remarked in the discussion which followed the reading of Dr. Birdwood's paper, "to encourage the notion that an Indian Civil servant must be born a gentleman would be a grave mistake—for everybody in India knew that many sons of tradesmen had been most successful there." One reason may possibly be that assigned by another gentleman conversant with life in India, that the gulf between Englishmen and natives is so wide that the latter do not see distinctly across it, or distinguish between one sample and another of the English middle class.

But the truth is, there is no real fear that 'cads' will predominate in the Civil Service—at least for many years to come. Such an apprehension is precisely as chimerical as the conjecture that fustian is immediately to predominate in the House of Commons. The social rank of the Competition candidates has not been lowered. The educated classes have a start in the preparation of their sons,

which enables them practically to engross the prizes which are nominally open to the whole community. And it will not be until the socially lower classes are as highly educated that they will encroach upon the pre-occupied ground. Nay, this is adduced as a strong objection to competition. "Competition for the Indian Civil Service," we are told, "has utterly failed to benefit the poor. It opposes an insurmountable bar to poverty." If an argument of this kind were addressed by the Reviewer to a Judge in a Court of either Law or Equity, he would be immediately informed that he must not "blow hot and cold at the same time"—or, in other words, that he must not complain of the system as introducing 'cads,' and at the same time urge as an objection that it operates as a bar to the poor.

Moreover the candidates are sure to be discontented and insolent. "The danger of competition is not that it will create an incapable or dishonest, but that it will create a profoundly discontented public service. The youth who has beaten an indefinite number of rivals in an open competition is extremely apt to believe that he could have beaten all the world in any conceivable contest if he had only had the chance." To the same effect the Quarterly Reviewer with still greater extravagance: "The men who are admitted by Competitive Examination will hold their places so to speak by right of conquest. They will be there because they have won in open contest with all their competitors the right to be there; to rank as the very foremost of their generation;" and a few lines further on they are "invited and entitled by the very mode of their appointment to regard themselves as the ascertained and certified Protagonists of their time." And he proceeds to prognosticate an alarming amount of official insolence to be generated by this strange cause. Now, really is it worth while to argue seriously against such rubbish as this? Englishmen are proverbially grumblers, but they are not as a rule congenital idiots, and none but a congenital idiot would suppose that because he had beaten a hundred or two hundred young men of his own age in a competition for which notoriously the best men will not offer themselves, that therefore he ought to be Archbishop of Canterbury or take command of the Channel Fleet? It is impossible to reconcile such puerile vapouring with success in the Examination at all. But in truth such arrogance and conceit may very comfortably be left to find its own level. Such nonsense will soon be knocked out of the deluded youth, and with the nonsense will vanish also the discontent.

Another cause for discontent, according to the Quarterly Reviewer, will be the inadequacy of the pay of the ordinary Civil Service. It is not enough that the Service guarantees an earlier and a surer maintenance than is to be found in other walks

of life. The class who prevail in competitive examinations "would not," it seems, "deliberately barter all chance of wealth and fame for a sure income rising from £150 to £800, with a chance of £1,500." Elsewhere the writer defines the same grievance as follows: "it is certain that a man who is receiving £500 a year at thirty, £800 a year at forty, and £1,500 at fifty, may be considered as an example of brilliant success in the service of the Crown." We should have supposed that such a man would have been considered as an example of success in almost any service. Besides if the Civil Servant is dissatisfied, he must thank his own want of spirit and ambition—for as to deliberation, the facts of the service are not matter of conjecture. They are perfectly ascertainable, and if the youth takes the solemn step which will decide his whole future carelessly, he must abide by the result.

Besides, was there no discontent under the Patronage system? It is well known that there was. Discontent may be generated by a consciousness of high birth or exquisite manners or good looks, as well as by a consciousness of a moderate amount of ability. The one is as real as the other and far less reasonable. As to conduct which amounts to insolence, it can, we presume, be checked. A Civil Servant does not hold his tenure of office like the Judges under the Act of Settlement; it is not necessary that an address by both Houses should be voted for his removal.

Not the least silly of the objections urged against successful candidates in Competitive Examinations, have emanated from the pen of A.K.H.B. in *Fraser's Magazine*. Not content with suggesting the possibility of the competition man's being a very vulgar fellow, he meanders on as follows: "possibly the reader has beheld men more than one or two who stood high on the list but with whom he would not willingly have had anything to do which he could help." * * * "There was the disagreeable tendency to contradict, to rake up sore subjects in conversation, to get into a rage in argument, and howl: to tell an opponent broadly that he was a fool *instead of remotely conveying the same essential idea*" * * * Precious beyond all statement is a sweet-natured man. And the different kinds of ill-temper are many. Readiness to oblige in ways greater and lesser is part of temper," and so on and so on. All that can be said with respect to such strange remarks is that A.K.H.B. is a well-known author who has obtained a certain measure of popularity, and that *Fraser's Magazine* is an excellently conducted periodical; consequently we are forced to suppose that there are some understandings with whom the above-quoted sentences will pass for arguments; otherwise we should fancy that we were reading a sermon upon the exceeding sinfulness of little sins. As if forsooth the private feelings, fancies or prejudices of the colleagues in a public service are to be preferred to the

interests of the service itself. Lord Clyde² was somewhat too rough and plain-spoken to be agreeable to dilettant dandyism in the army, and the famous Blücher's manners might have been the pleasanter for an additional dash of amenity. Test the professions generally by the standard of suavity and sweet temper, and he would be a bold man who would venture to assert that sweetness and strength are invariably found together. Competitive Examinations will not render a man sweet tempered any more than they will teach him how to drive a four-in-hand or to be a dead-shot, but they will develop other and more useful qualities. Are perseverance and self-discipline nothing? Is it less noble now than in the days of Milton "to scorn delights and live laborious days?"

Having refuted some of the misrepresentations, exposed some of the exaggerations, and replied to some of the calumnies which have been levelled at the Competitive System, we are now in a better position to consider that system upon its merits, and to contrast it with the old system of Patronage. And first of all it seems expedient to remark that one of these two systems we must perforce choose—the only question is which? Next it must be remembered, although it may well seem superfluous to make the remark, that when a comparison between two rival systems is instituted, it is not sufficient to adduce objections, however real, against one of the two, for objections there will certainly be against any merely human system. As Dr. Johnson remarked, there are objections against a plenum, and objections against a vacuum, yet one of the two must be a fact. We have simply to determine this plain issue, are the objections that may fairly be alleged against Competition, inferior to the evils proved to exist under the Patronage system? We may at once concede, that if the use of Patronage were not synonymous with its abuse, there would be much less to be argued against its revival. But without postulating positive unscrupulousness and moral obliquity, does any reasonable person believe that there would be found sufficient public spirit and devotion to the real interests of the Civil Service, to withstand the imperious temptations of friendship and importunity? We have already seen that incompetence, ill-health, indolence and inability, found a harbour of refuge in Patronage. Upon this point the testimony of the Quarterly Reviewer is as candid as we could desire. "The majority of vacancies," he says, "under the Patronage system were filled by the nominees of parliamentary supporters of the Government, on the recommendations of the constituents and local magnates. In such cases there was no security for capacity of any kind." The *Saturday Review*, though opposed to Competition, is yet constrained to acknowledge the reality of the abuse of

Patronage. One of the instances adduced, is as follows: "The nobleman at the head of the Committee of Council for Education, had to nominate a person who was to conduct a principal part of the correspondence. He appointed the son of his own bailiff, and this person, who had to inaugurate a correspondence with the schoolmasters of England, touching their own incompetence, could not spell, could not construct a grammatical sentence, and wrote an illegible round text." Who does not recollect Mr. Lowe's experience of the man who took £500 a year out of the nation, and the only use the office to which this unfortunate gentleman had been appointed could find to put him, was to tie up packets of brown paper with string? Mr. Romilly mentioned before the Parliamentary Commission of 1854, the case of a clerk in the Audit Office, who in addition to idiocy, could neither read nor write. Colonel Rathbone tells us that one of the commonest stories of the old East India Company's régime, was that by the Hon. John Shore, of a Director who paid for the outfit of his two sons appointed to the Civil Service, by sending the tailor the nomination to an Indian cadetship. With such flagrant evidence of the abuse of Patronage, how can any one fail to re-echo the opinion of the *Saturday Review*, that to appoint by personal interest, is to provide for the fools of families at the public expense? At the very time we write, fresh light is thrown upon the question of patronage by the review of Mr. Planché's "Recollections and Reflections," published in the *Times*. "On the mother's side," we are told, Mr. Planché "had a Prussian great-grandfather, who was tutor or German master to Charles IV, Duke of Portland. His Grace offered my mother an ensign's commission for me, I being four years old! * * * O happy days of England, when babies were really born with gold spoons in their mouths, and could be made Colonels of regiments, Commissioners of Excise, and Masters of the Mint in their cradles, and without competitive examination!" It is an established fact that the daughter of a high Irish official once held a commission in a cavalry regiment, till she was enabled to sell out to advantage. Mr. Planché relates an analogous abuse of patronage in the Civil Service:—"The lady of a Cabinet minister (I purpose to suppress names), had promised to stand godmother to the infant, and calling on his parents a day or two previous to the ceremony, expressed her regret that Lord——had nothing left at his disposal of any importance, and that the only thing he could do for her godson, was to put his name on the pension list as a superannuated general postman. The offer was accepted. The pension was regularly paid to the parents during the minority of their son, and to him afterwards as long as he lived. He thrived in the world, became an Alderman of Chichester, and attained a considerable age, often

declaring that he had more pleasure in pocketing the few pounds he drew half-yearly from this source than he derived from the receipt of any other portion of his income. His descendant is now a baronet and M.P., and I had the story from his father at his own dinner-table." But, passing over such gross and scandalous abuses of patronage, the incompetence generated by the old system is conclusively proved by the fact that superior appointments used often to be given to strangers, no one in the offices themselves being found capable of discharging the duties efficiently.

Great stress has been laid upon the argument of authority. We are reminded that by far the greater number of experienced officials formally dissented from the conclusions of Sir C. Trevelyan's and Sir S. Northcote's report in 1855. Now, in the first place, this may partly be explained by that naturally conservative tendency in men which think the system in which they and their predecessors were born and bred perfect; partly also by the fact that under the close system of patronage they themselves would probably reap advantage for their belongings. True, it may be objected that those actually engaged in a business must know better than others what sort of men they require; but it should also be remembered that lookers on proverbially see most of the game, and that reforms invariably begin from without. Secondly, it is not sufficient that experienced officials should have objected in 1855 to render the argument cogent in 1874; we must know what their opinion is now that they have had an opportunity of seeing its actual working. But, as usually happens in such cases, the argument of authority cuts both ways. In Sir C. Trevelyan's Report the following passage occurs:—"We have before us the testimony of an eminent public officer who was for many years connected with one of the chief departments of State. He writes, thus: 'During my long acquaintance with the—Office I remember four, and only four, instances of young men being introduced into it on the ground of well-ascertained fitness. I do not venture to mention any names, but I confidently affirm that the superiority of those four gentlemen to all the rest was such as to extort the acknowledgment of it from their rivals, and to win the high applause of each successive Secretary of State.' To a like effect is the testimony of Mr. Chadwick, C.B.: "My subsequent experience in which I have had passed through my hands the applications of between 1,000 and 2,000 staff-appointments, and have been employed in the business connected with the regulations of the expenditure of upwards of half a million per annum in 1,200 local appointments, besides much business connected with local dismissals, has only confirmed more strongly my earliest impressions that the principle of the open Competitive Examination

is the only efficient and trustworthy test of such qualifications as may be deemed requisite for admission to the public service." Nor need we stop here. If this argument of authority were to decide the question, it is our abiding conviction that such a formidable array of great names might be cited who have given in their adhesion to the competitive movement, as would stagger and confound the friends of patronage. Indeed it is not too much to say that the intellect of the country is almost unanimously in our favour. But without hazarding assertions which we admit to be disputable, the following distinguished men have publicly signified their support of competition:—Lord Macaulay, Lord Derby, Professor Jowett, Bishop Temple, the Dean of Christ Church, Sir C. Trevelyan, Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord Lawton. The late Government were of course committed by their own act and deed to the present enormously extended application of the principle; but it is important to remark that equally warm supporters sit upon the front Treasury benches at the present moment. We shall not, however, fatigue our readers by a mere parade of names, however eminent, but shall leave the argument of authority in the hands of one of the greatest men of the past generation—Mr. J. S. Mill, whose opinion must always command respect, if it does not persuade conviction. "The proposal," says that eminent thinker, "to select candidates for the Civil Service of Government by a Competitive Examination, appears to me to be one of those great public improvements, the adoption of which would form an era in history. Its adoption would be the best indication which could be made of existing political institutions, by showing that the classes who under the present constitution have the greatest influence in the Government, do not desire any greater share of the profits derivable from it than their merits entitle them to, but are willing to take the chances of competition with ability in all ranks: while the plan offers to liberals, so far as the plan extends, the realization of the principal object which any honest reformer desires to effect by political changes, *viz.* that the administration of public affairs should be in the most competent hands; which as regards the permanent part of the administrative body would be ensured by the proposed plan, so far as it is possible for any human contrivance to secure it. When we add to this consideration, the extraordinary stimulus which would be given to mental cultivation in its most important branches, not solely by the hopes of prizes to be obtained by means of it, but by the effect of the natural recognition of it as the exclusive title to participation in the conduct of so large and conspicuous a portion of the national affairs; and when we further think of the great and salutary moral revolution, descending to the minds of almost the lowest classes, which would follow the knowledge that

Government (to people in general the most trusted exponent of the ways of the world) would henceforth bestow its gifts according to merit and not to favour; it is difficult to express in any language, which would not appear exaggerated, the benefits which, as it appears to me, would ultimately be the consequences of the successful execution of the scheme." So much for the argument of authority.

• Let us see whether the argument from analogy fares any better. "Merchants, manufacturers, and railways companies," we are told, "are not in the habit of offering their clerkships as prizes, nor are they liable to be overwhelmed with laughter when they have occasion to make a choice between competent and incompetent candidates." It is evident here at the outset that the analogy is not complete; the motive to choose a capable man is much stronger in the case of the merchant, manufacturer, or company; their own personal interests are involved; in the case of the Civil Service, only those of the public. Secondly, it is not seldom found that even in the case of an individual he appoints his own son or near relation or friend without reference to capacity, even in a profession such as the law in which brains are pre-eminently required.

Many persons who are unfeignedly shocked at the naked deformity of the old Patronage system deem that the panacea is to be found in a Pass Examination which would exclude the grosser forms of ignorance, such as bad spelling and arithmetic. But this is to ignore one of the principal uses of Competition, viz., that it is a reward for positive not negative merit. "*Vitavi denique culpam non laudem merui*, is not the motto for a candidate for public favour. • Given two candidates, one just able to spell and count, the other showing that he has a fair knowledge of Latin and Greek, Mathematics and English History: in short, that he is moderately well educated, and which ought to have the appointment? As both cannot, one of the two must have a grievance. But if you give the appointment to the more stupid, you are putting a premium upon stupidity and indolence.

To many, however, it seems right that stupidity should be petted. Indeed, the tender solicitude lavished upon ignorance, is marvellous. "What is to become," it is exclaimed, "of commonplace people, if Competitive Examination really succeeds in producing brilliant candidates?" The fear, be it observed, is as chimerical as it is foolish—for brilliant candidates are as yet in a decided minority, and if brilliant candidates were the rule and not the exception, the remedy is plain, the commonplace people must descend to do the work for which they were either naturally intended, or to which they have voluntarily reduced themselves by indolence.

We have already observed that one of the stock objections to the Competitive System is, that it is 'Chinese.' The epithet, however, is a misnomer, for with the Chinese all appointments, from the highest to the lowest, are made by Competition, and singularly enough the fact that our so-called Chinese system is not Chinese is cast in our teeth.* It is solemnly adduced as a proof that we have not the courage of our own convictions, because we refuse to select a Commissioner of Customs or an Under-Secretary of State by a Competitive Examination. But what worse than trifling is this. How preposterous to compare the appointment of such officers with that of the ordinary rank and file of the Civil Service! In the latter case, the only test possible—that of having profited by an education which will enable him to become a good public servant if he chooses to become one—is applied; in the former, the Commissioner or Under Secretary is appointed, because he has proved himself to be a good public servant. Nor must it be forgotten that to exceptionally high positions exceptionally keen public

* As a proof, however, that the Chinese system is not so absolutely without defenders as its critics seem to suppose, we subjoin the following extract from Carlyle's *Heroes and Hero-worship* :—

"By far the most interesting fact I hear about the Chinese is one on which we cannot arrive at clearness, but which excites endless curiosity even in the dim state: this, namely, that they do attempt to make their Men of Letters their Governors! It would be rash to say, one understood how this was done, or with what degree of success it was done. All such things must be very unsuccessful; yet a small degree of success is precious; the very attempt how precious! There does seem to be all over China a more or less active search everywhere to discover the men of talent that grow up in the young generation. Schools there are for every one: a foolish sort of training, yet still a sort. The youths who distinguish themselves in the lower schools are promoted into favourable stations in the higher, that they may still more distinguish themselves—forward and forward; it appears to be out of their that the Official

Persons and incipient Governors are taken. These are they whom they try first whether they can govern or not. And surely with the best hope: for they are the men that have already shewn intellect. Try them: they have not governed or administered as yet; perhaps they cannot; but there is no doubt they have some Understanding,—without which no man can! Neither is Understanding a tool as we are too apt to figure; it is a hand which can handle any tool. Try these men: they are of all others the best worth trying. Surely there is no kind of government, constitution, revolution, social apparatus, or arrangement that I know of in this world so promising to one's scientific curiosity as this. The men of intellect at the top of affairs: this is the aim of all constitutions and revolutions, if they have any aim. For the man of true intellect as I assert and believe always is the noble-hearted man withal, the true, just, humane and valiant man. Get him for Governor, all is got; fail to get him, though you had Constitutions plentiful as blackberries, and a Parliament in every village, there is nothing yet got!"

attention is directed, whereas one of the difficulties of filling up the ordinary posts of the Civil Service arises from the number of appointments to be given away, which renders it at once more difficult to make a proper, and less notorious to make an improper selection.

To some the argument may seem plausible that we are bound to select for the Home and Indian Services the sons of meritorious public servants, and the analogy of an hereditary peerage and the laws of succession to property accumulated by the labours of ancestors may be quoted in its favour. But it is surely a fairer criterion to judge a man and reward him for his own deeds rather than for those of his forefathers, however illustrious, not to mention that the mere fact of his parent having been a meritorious public servant makes it probable that he has already received substantial pecuniary assistance in the race of life. And, on the other hand, it appears hard that others who have had the misfortune to possess nobodies for fathers should find that this fact which is entirely beyond their own control, acts as a positive detriment to them in life. Indirectly of course they must suffer, if there be any truth in the transmission of hereditary qualities. To some minds, indeed, the inequality in the distribution of all earthly blessings affords matter for complacency, and they are never tired of quoting the seeming Scriptural sanction, "To him that hath shall more be given"; but it would seem fairer, regarded from the point of view of abstract justice, to demand that it is the worthy inheritor of a dishonoured name or of no name who should rather be abnormally favoured, in consideration of their presumed greater mediocrity, ignorance and vice. Gratitude to the dead is doubtless a virtue, but when it takes the form of injustice to the living there is less to be said in its favour. Not so, however, thinks Dr. Birdwood, who expresses himself to the following extraordinary effect: "*For my part I would give a boy very heavy marks for an illustrious father. We do so with pigs, horses, dogs, and even in the vegetable kingdom as well as the bestial; and all else being equal, a pedigree boy should get marks as much as pedigree wheat*" Now, although Montaigne tells us that men write as indelicately as they speak, we should hardly have supposed it possible that so astounding a proposition as this should be seriously put forward in print for public consideration. In the first place, unless the son is utterly degenerate, in which case he ought not to have them, he will, as we have said before, indirectly obtain marks from having had an illustrious father; and, in the second place, the author is at pains to point out himself the absurdity of his own plan a few lines further on. "I would also," he says, "if I could, deduct marks from a boy for a dishonourable father. I think this is obvious, and the

principle is of very wide application, *but it could not be practically enforced.*" It is a pity that the consciousness of this fact did not deter the author from propounding so idiotic a suggestion.

It is a totally different question whether the Competitive System should be continued after first appointments for the subsequent grades of the Service. In the latter case we have the sure ground of actual experience to rest upon, which was impossible in the former case. In the army and navy, however, where strategy and scientific navigation must be mastered, there seems no reason why Examinations should not supply one element towards determining promotion. The Quarterly Reviewer, however, cannot away with the idea of mind or intelligence in the army at all. "If," says he, "the army were so attractive as to bring about a severe Competition on every commission, it would in ten years be simply paralysed; for inasmuch as with equal gifts the bookworm must in book-competition beat the man of action, your army would within that time be officered by bookworms who could just pass the doctor, and who in the field would be simply useless." Now, granting the probable severity of competition in the army, which is however grossly exaggerated, the writer ignores the fact which we should have thought was sufficiently notorious, that the conditions of war are now totally changed, that it has passed into an intellectual stage—and that brains, not strength, are what will carry the day.

But forsooth, the Competitive System is 'artificial,' 'mechanical.' How can any system whatsoever, fail to be artificial and mechanical? With precisely as much reason fault might be found with a system for being systematical. Artificiality and mechanism, are implied *ex vi termini*.

Finally, the Quarterly Reviewer grumbles because a bridge has not been built to connect the higher with the lower Home Civil Service. But it must be remembered that the two branches were designedly created, the one for intellectual and the other for mechanical labour. By entering the lower, therefore, a man voluntarily renounces all claim to the higher, and admits himself to be a Gibeonite. It is true that this arrangement will undoubtedly exclude those "who as boys are rather silent and stolid, who as youths are undistinguished, who never would succeed in an Examination, but who about thirty begin to show what sort of stuff is in them, and some of whom at forty approve themselves among the soundest judgments and most powerful intellects of their generation," but how many of these wonderful beings are likely to be found? Such tall talk as this would try the faith even of an Apella. These *raræ aves*, "the Wellingtons and the Cromwells, the born rulers, deep thinkers, and practical statesmen, whose

brains are too powerful to reach their full development early in life "may safely be left to take care of themselves.

Thus much of the accusations that have been unfairly brought forward against Competition. But it is by no means our intention to imply that the system is as yet perfect, or that it has hitherto accomplished all that may reasonably be expected from it. Its strongest recommendation consists in the fact that the path to preferment will eventually be opened to the humblest instead of being trodden only by the rich and well-born. At present this is far from being the case. Education is as yet practically confined to the upper classes, and generations must elapse before the poor have an equal chance with those who occupy a higher social position. But this fact in no way invalidates the principle. True we are as yet as a nation uneducated, but we have at length awakened to a sense of our responsibilities and are beginning to make up for lost time. The schoolmaster is, in a much fuller sense than when the phrase was first coined, abroad; and the heartiest supporters of the Competitive principle are those who most fervently desire to see Education the most widely extended. The truth is, the opponents of Competition are but lukewarm friends of Education, else they would not be so afraid of the invasion of 'cads' into the public service. This is where the shoe really pinches. They have no objection to fling a crust to the poor, to dole out a little reading, writing, and arithmetic to the masses, "but above and beyond everything," they shriek, "do not over-educate them, do not unnaturally raise them above their proper spheres, do not enable them to usurp the places of their betters."

A valid objection to Competition is undoubtedly to be found in the cost of the education necessary to ensure an appointment in the Civil Service. But whence this cost? Why should crammers be required at all? Supply must clearly pre-suppose demand. We are, therefore, forced to conclude that the schools of this country are either unable or unwilling to supply the education needed. Nor will it avail them to say that they disdain to suit their system of instruction to the requisitions of our absurd and unphilosophical scheme. This would be all very well did the Civil Service Examinations correspond with the accounts of them, which have been so ingeniously circulated. If they were as a fact 'eccentric,' and if the examination questions asked were really 'Chinese puzzles,' we should not wonder at the Gallic attitude of the schools. But when we find that for the majority of the examinations in question the requirements consist of a moderate acquaintance with Latin, Greek, or French, the elements of Mathematics, English Composition, and Spelling, with a knowledge of the ordinary facts of English History and of Geography, and a little

Précis, it seems difficult to understand how such subjects can possibly be excluded from any rational system of education at all. Nor indeed are they excluded, but somehow or another they fail to produce their legitimate fruit. We are perfectly aware, from practical experience, of the great difficulties under which a schoolmaster labours; but we see no fairness in the vulgar abuse which is levelled at a set of men who simply supply a need which ought never to have been created, and actually perform the work which others have been paid for, but which they have signally failed to perform. The remedy for such evils is not far to seek. The schoolmasters have but to set their own houses in order and thus effectually checkmate the crammers. Crammers are not of divinely appointed institution, but they will continue to flourish in spite of any amount of invective and vituperation so long as their teaching tends to success and that of others to failure. It is absurd to suppose that parents take a positive pleasure in spending large additional sums of money upon the education of their sons which have already cost them sufficiently dear. Nothing but the direst necessity could induce them to do so.

But it is not only that schools too often fail to educate the rank and file of their pupils. Account must also be taken of the age up to which entrance into the Civil Service is possible. The limit of age ranges from twenty-one up to twenty-five, whereas a youth ordinarily leaves school at eighteen or nineteen. If he fails to obtain an appointment immediately upon leaving school, he must either study by himself or resort to a crammer. Consequently if crammers are the nuisance and scandal which they are represented to be, one of two things must be done; either the limit of age for entering the Public Service must be lowered, or else the school course must be extended. Either plan would effect the object desired, unless indeed parents in despair of the success of school instruction prematurely removed their sons and transferred them to crammers. The strangest phenomenon is presented, when young men who have obtained University degrees, nevertheless find themselves obliged to resort to additional tuition in order to obtain appointments in the Civil Service. This fact will probably be fastened upon by the opponents of Competition as conclusive proof of the rottenness of the Competitive System. "Is it possible," they will say, "to conceive that a man whom Alma Mater has delighted to honour, and whom she has stamped, with the mark of her approbation, should be unfit to perform the routine duties of an ordinary office?" Such reasoning may pass muster with the uninitiated, but University men themselves will be less disposed to believe in the virtue of those magic letters B.A. or M.A. which look so well in print. Our contention is simply this—B.A. or not B.A., if a man displays a hopeless ignorance of

such elementary subjects as form the staple of the Civil Service Examinations, whatever else he may know, he is practically uneducated and deserves to fail.

Not but what in many instances sheer indolence sends the B.A. to a crammer, whose position is not unfrequently that so ingenuously described by the French Master of Eton before the Public School Commissioners—he is an article *de luxe*. Young men who are perfectly capable of mastering the requisite subjects *proprio Marte*, choose nevertheless to call in aid which is entirely superfluous. They either hope to save themselves trouble in the actual work, or the habits they have formed at the Universities are such that, like schoolboys, they must have a master to hear the lesson or it would never be learned at all. In such cases as these it will hardly, we apprehend, be contended that the fault lies at the crammer's door.

We shall now leave the general question of Competition. We believe that it is inseparable from Democracy, to which, whether we like it or no, he must be blind indeed to the signs of the times who fails to perceive that we are slowly but surely tending. When Dr. Birdwood tells us that 'the competitive impulse is a brute instinct which modern competition has most offensively developed among half-educated Englishmen, and which every true man must shrink from with loathing and abhorrence,' we fail to recognise in such indiscriminating abuse the words of wisdom. We must accept the world we live in as a fact. No doubt the present state of humanity is far from being a perfect state; we may hope that it is merely a state of transition; but impotent railing will not mend matters. A greater than Dr. Birdwood has described the age of competition in which it is our fate to live, with similar regret, but in a far different and more philosophic spirit. "I confess I am not charmed," says Mr. J. S. Mill in his beautiful chapter upon the Stationary State in the "Principles of Political Economy," "with the ideal of life held out by those who think that the normal state of human beings is that of struggling to get on; that the trampling, crushing, elbowing, and treading on each other's heels, which form the existing type of social life, are the most desirable lot of human kind, or any thing but the disagreeable symptoms of one of the phases of industrial progress." But so long as human life continues to be the struggle thus depicted, it is at least desirable that the worthiest should win in that struggle, and our confidence in the competitive principle simply rests upon the conviction that it tends to promote the success of the worthiest.

Nothing, indeed, seems more deplorable than the waste of energy which first employs itself in defending to the last moment an untenable position, which bolsters up a rotten system until it collapses from its own inherent weakness, and then, when the

system is discarded, never to return, directs all its efforts to the misrepresentation of the system which succeeds, and to disingenuous exaggerations of its defects; many of which may be remedied, and all of which, even did they really exist, would be preferable to the gross abuses of the system abolished. Such are the tactics adopted by the grumblers at Competition. They dare not—most of them at least—openly defend Patronage, but they solace themselves by throwing as much dirt as possible at the Competitive Principle, and by shedding a halo of false romance and seductive colouring over the history of the past. Can anything, for example, be much more ridiculous than Dr. Birdwood's description of the treatment of Indian Civil Servants under the old and the new system respectively? "When a young man," he says, "was freely given an Indian appointment, he was laid under an obligation to a fellow-man for life. He might never see his benefactor again in this life; but in all his service his thought would all the more go to justify the selection of himself made by him; and if ever with the opportunity he won credit to himself, the chief pleasure of it would be in the satisfaction it was sure to give the Director who had served him." Such high-flown sentiments of chivalrous gratitude may have their influence upon some temperaments. For ourselves, we should prefer to rely upon the more common-place motives of duty—duty to a man's self, to his family, and to his country. If he remain, uninfluenced by such considerations as these, neither will the sentiment of gratitude be of any avail. "Under the old directors," continues Dr. Birdwood, "on your first landing in India you were taken in charge by a paternal serjeant-major, or by personal friends who put you up to the ways of the country. Now, on landing, the young competitor, nobody's child, has to shift for himself, without an idea how to do it. He is cheated right and left, outraged, defied, possibly incurs debts which he can never throw off again, and almost as certainly acquires an inveterate hatred of the country and its people. *I have known this neglect and suffering kill young men outright*" We cheerfully admit that if it is necessary for a Competition-Wallah to have a paternal serjeant-major—if he is totally unable to shift for himself, if he is cheated right and left, outraged and defied, if he incurs debts and is never able afterwards to throw them off again, and if in consequence of such idiotic noodledom, he acquires an inveterate hatred of the country and its people—the sooner Competition-Wallahs are abolished the better. But such marvellous pictures as the foregoing will, we apprehend, be appreciated at their proper value, and will neither discredit a system nor an individual, excepting only him who attempts to palm off such trash upon the prejudices of the public.

Relieving, therefore, in Competition, and being convinced that the principle, once adopted, will not be lightly discarded in order to revert to the old discredited system of Patronage, we proceed to offer a few practical suggestions, by means of which, in our opinion, the Civil Service Examinations might be improved.

The point upon which we desire principally to lay stress is the advisability of greater definiteness in the Examinations. While allowing the widest range of subjects from which a selection should be made, we would rigidly limit the number of the subjects themselves. It is a cardinal principle in all education that the wider the field the more superficial the knowledge. A man may choose either to know a little of many things or much of one or two. The latter is we submit, by far the safer plan of the two. *Non multa sed multum*. There would not be the smallest difficulty in mapping out several distinct courses, whatever might be the subject for examination, of which one, and not more than one, should be left to the discretion of the candidate.

We will first of all take the subject of English, as it is generally supposed that this subject affords the greatest scope for cram, because it is said its "study is dependent chiefly upon memory, and little upon thought and discrimination." We cannot for a moment admit the truth of this assertion. To suppose that English History or English Literature, which contains more thought than Latin or Greek Literature, can be mastered without thought is the most amazing assumption. It is indeed admitted that "the same objection does not apply to English composition;"—but what is every answer in an English History or Literature paper but English composition—a good paper being nothing but a series of diminutive essays—"but in this case the thought and matter ought to be looked to far more than the fluency of the style." Of course they ought; in other words, the examination should be conducted upon rational instead of irrational principles. It must never be forgotten that it rests with the Examiners and not with the Crammers to determine the character of the Examinations. The latter must necessarily follow the lead of the former. One thing we are unable to understand. It is notorious that the Law and History School at Oxford has been a success. In Oxford, till quite lately, the real tuition was in the hands of private 'coaches,' and to make the parallel more complete, representative Oxford men examine for the Civil Service. Why then should not a youth be able to read History in London as well as in Oxford? A distinction must of course be made between the several Civil Service Examinations. It would be absurd to require as competent a knowledge of English for the Home as for the Indian Service; but in the case of both alike thoroughness might be enforced, however small the extent of the ground

actually traversed. Let us take the Indian Civil Service Examinations. We will suggest two or three specimen courses of English History and Literature.

No. 1. Shall comprise the following: *Shakspeare's Macbeth*, *Lear*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *King John*, *Richard III.*; the whole of *Dryden*, *Wordsworth* and *Browning*.

Prose—*Bacon's Essays*, *Carlyle's Works*, exclusive of *Frederick the Great*, *Burke's Works* and *Addison*.

English History—The Tudor Period, requiring an accurate knowledge of *Hume*, *Hallam*, *Froude*, *Macaulay*.

No. 2. Shall comprise *Shakspeare's Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Taming of the Shrew*, *Henry IV.*; the whole of *Milton's*, *Pope's*, and *Tennyson's Works*.

Prose—*Locke on the Human Understanding*, *De Quincey's Works*, *Mill's Essay on Liberty*, *Hume's* and *Macaulay's Essays*, *More's Utopia*.

English History—The Stuart Period, *William III.*, and *Anne*, requiring an accurate knowledge of *Hallam*, *Hume* and *Smollett*, *Macaulay* and *Lingard*.

No. 3. Shall comprise *Shakspeare's Tempest*, *Merchant of Venice*, *Henry VIII.*, *Julius Cesar*, *As you like it*, *Henry V.*; *Spenser's Faery Queen*, *Byron*, and *Shelley*.

Prose—*Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity*, *Scott's Novels*, *Swift's* and *Milton's Prose Works*.

English History—*George III.* to the present time, with *Stanhope's Life of Pitt*, and *Erschine May's Constitutional History*, *Jesse's Life of George III.*

Other courses might easily be suggested. Besides these definite studies, it should be competent for the candidates to take up any other book in which they may desire to be examined, but only at their peril, *i.e.*, it should be distinctly understood that no marks would be obtained for extra subjects unless proficiency were shown in the recognised course. Nor is it to be supposed for a moment that even with special courses of English History and Literature, any real knowledge of authors other than those specified will fail to manifest itself in the Examination. One period of English History and Literature illustrates another, and in order to understand one thoroughly, you must be acquainted with the rest. But inasmuch as such thorough knowledge is impossible in the case of a youth of 19 or 20, the great object to be sought for is to concentrate his attention upon the limited sphere marked out for him. Even under the present system it is notorious that one of the great causes of failure is to be attributed to an unwise ambition. Where one fails from taking up too few, ten fail from attempting to master too many subjects. There have been instances in which condi-

tes have obtained high places on the list who have contented themselves with only three subjects. The same remarks which apply to English apply also to the Classics and Modern Languages. We would have similarly definite courses mapped out. Such courses have been found to work well in the Moderation Schools at Oxford, and there is no reason why the plan should not also succeed in the Examination we are considering. At the same time it must be borne in mind that at Oxford a Classical Honour man in Moderations confines his attentions exclusively to Latin and Greek and a little Logic. As much therefore cannot be reasonably expected from the Indian Civil Service Candidate, especially as we would require Greek and Latin History to be included under the term Classics, but of these as in the case of English History only a special period. By this means, instead of a bare knowledge of the facts of Ancient History as contained in the Student's History of Rome, or Smith's History of Greece, we should have a right to demand the mastery of portions of such works as Mommsen's Rome, Dr. Arnold's and Merivale's Histories, and Grote's Greece. Similarly, if French or German be selected as a subject, a portion of French and German History should also be required. We need not pursue our argument so as to embrace all the other subjects that might be selected. Enough has been said to make our meaning clear. To sum up, what we demand is thorough knowledge of a contracted area. We would limit the number of subjects possible to be taken up at one time to five. Of these five we would make English, Classics or Mathematics, and Moral Science or Political Economy, compulsory. Lastly, we would suggest the propriety of the Civil Service Commissioners inculcating upon the Examiners the advantage not merely of detecting the fact that some candidates are 'formed men,' and others 'crammed men,' but of turning their discrimination to some practical account. As with the Indian, so also with the Home Service. We would make special subjects an invariable rule. It seems indeed as though the benefits to be derived from the plan suggested were beginning to make themselves felt, for it has already been adopted in the case of Woolwich and the Cooper's Hill Engineering College. The special subjects should obviously be published as soon as possible, i.e., as soon as the Examination for one year is ended, the subjects for the next year's Examination should be known. Unfortunately, however, the authorities have sometimes not thought proper to adopt this course with respect to Cooper's Hill College; and the consequence has been that until four months previous to the Examination, the candidates have been under the impression that they might be examined generally in the whole of English History and Literature. It is needless to remark that no better plan could

have been contrived for producing superficiality and smattering. This indeed constitutes a just cause of complaint against the Home Service generally. It is of the first importance that at the earliest possible moment definite information should be supplied to the candidate of the subjects and date of his examination. As matters stand at present, he is often left in doubt until three, two, or even one month previous to his being called upon. Now either the candidate should be allowed a reasonable time to master special subjects, or he should be allowed no time for preparation at all, and cram thus be rendered impossible. No doubt the original idea of those who introduced competition, was that youths should simply be examined in the knowledge they were supposed to have acquired at school. This knowledge has proved to be so illusory, that the original design has perforce been relinquished, and time for special preparation been conceded. But the three and two months' system is simply the worst conceivable, and is alike unfair to the Public Service, and to the candidates themselves.

With these suggestions, we confidently commit the cause of Competition to the common sense of the public; and we firmly believe that if wisely carried out the results will be that education will be stimulated, merit rewarded, and thousands of deserving though humbly-born youths will find an avenue to the Public Service opened to them, who under the old system would have languished in hopeless obscurity.

ART. V.—ARABIC PROVERBS.

THERE is perhaps no language in the world, not even excepting the Spanish, that can boast so vast, or so brilliant, a store of proverbial wisdom as the Arabic; while there is certainly none that is so favourable a medium for its expression. The very structure of the Arabic is provocative of play upon words and sounds, of rhythm, rhyme and alliteration, to a degree which is the case with no other tongue. More than this, owing to the circumstance that a single radical word is transformable, by certain orderly re-arrangements of its literal elements, into a multitude of other words variously related to it in signification, the multitude of different but cognate ideas associated with any given sound is vastly greater than in any other language. Each vocable is, in fact, a living organism of Protean shape and significance, and the result is a mobility of mind and a quickness of wit wholly unattainable, and scarcely conceivable, by any Aryan people.

In many other respects, into which we cannot now enter, the Arabic language possesses unrivalled advantages. That the proverbs of a people so favoured should be remarkable for their exceeding wit might be expected. Unfortunately, the wit is, for the most part, of a kind which wholly disappears on translation. It is part and parcel of the language itself, and cannot be separated from it. In presenting the readers of the *Calcutta Review* with the following specimens of this branch of Arabic literature, we cannot, therefore, hope that they will bear out these assertions. Indeed, we have felt again and again during our task, that we were spoiling good things by attempting to put them into a foreign dress.

We have abstained from all attempt to correct the language of the original, which, as scholars will see, is vulgar and sometimes provincial; and want of the necessary type has made it impossible to transliterate correctly those Arabic consonants which have no equivalents in the Roman character.

The proverbs marked with an asterisk are from the work of Burckhardt, and the remainder are from an unpublished MS collection:—

We could hardly have anything more terse and full of deep moral truth, than,

Zá'id akh al náqas :

Too much is the brother of too little ;

a proverb which stops short of declaring that virtue carried to excess becomes vice, but condemns it as the next thing to vice.

The sentence, "Zá'id akh al náqas" affords a good illustration of the marvellous economy of words which characterises the

Arabic language, and makes it so admirable a medium for the proverb, the epigram and every other variety of *bon mot*. We get the essence of wit and the essence of language together.

Similar to the above is the Welsh proverb, "Too much is stark nought."

The vulgar hallucination which finds expression in our "Talk of the Devil, and he will appear," is represented in Arabic by

Adhkar al kalb wa ba idak hajára :—

Remember the dog, and (take) stones in your hand.

The community of belief implied by this agreement in imputing reality to a purely imaginary relation must have its basis in a common psychological tendency, which leads people first to exaggerate the frequency, and then to misunderstand the significance, of what is after all a rare and purely fortuitous coincidence. It is noteworthy that in both languages the subject of the proverb is something unpleasant. There is a much stronger tendency in men to impute fatality to unfavourable than to favourable events.

A piece of practical wisdom probably as widely diffused as the human race itself, finds expression in

Al' amash ahsan man al a'mí. :—

The bleared eyed is better than the blind.

In English we have, in the same sense, "Half a loaf is better than no bread," and in Hindustani "Nahín māmú bhalá, yá káná māmú bhalá?" "Whether is the better, an uncle blind of one eye, or an uncle blind of both eyes?"

The Arabs have a profound faith in the virtue of race, and in the dominance, to the end, of the tendencies a man is born with, which finds expression in a multitude of proverbs. Thus we have,—

Shams al mal'ib man matala' há ballí (or yabaiyan) :—

The good sun is apparent from its rising,
a proverb which, by the way, could never have obtained currency in the variable climate of England.

Or—

Al díq al mal'ib man al baiza yasib :

The fine cock cries from the egg.

Or, again,

Ma khallaf al kalb ila kalb ibn kalb :—

The dog left not behind him but a dog, the son of a dog
in which the chief stress is laid on parentage.

Again,

Lo kán libas al kalb labís lúlú, kalb ibn kalb yaqúlúlhú :—

You may clothe the dog with a garment of pearls, but men will still call him a dog, the son of a dog

“Ruling passion strong in death” finds its analogue in—

Yamút al diq wa 'ainhú b'al nakhálá :—

The cock dies, and his eye (is still) on the bran.

A variation of the same proverb is'

Tamút al hadáya wa 'ainhá fí al khataf :—*

The falcon dies, and her eye is still on the seizure (of her prey).

With the whole of the above we may compare the Hindustani 'Rassi jale ainhá na chhute :—'The rope may be burnt, but the twisting remains (literally, is not set free).

Another proverb of similar import is,

Tab' al badan má yghainhú ghair al kafan :—

Only the grave clothes change the physical nature

In

Al jamal lo ya'aiyan hadbathú, kán wak' wa anqasat raqbathú :—

If the camel could see his hump, he would fall down and break his neck,

we have the same idea as is expressed in the well known lines of Burns

“O would some power the giftie gie us

• “To see ourselves as others see us” etc. etc.

The Arabs also had learnt that it is the last straw that breaks the camel's back ; for we find

Hamal al jamal, 'al' al mokhal nákh

The camel lifted the load, and succumbed under the sieve.

The necessity of having some capital in order to procure credit, is affirmed by—

Al má 'andhá jijí, má yadáyanúhá baizí.

They don't lend eggs to the woman that has no fowl.

This proverb may be matched by the Welsh, “Have a horse of thine own, and thou mayest borrow another's ;” by the French, “A celui qui a son pâte au four on peut donner de son gateau,” or “On ne prête, qu'aux riches ;” the Spanish, “A quien no mata puero, no le dan morcilla,” or by the Scotch,

“The hen's egg aft gaes to the ha'

To bring the guse's egg awa'.

In—

Farid kalamá takfí al 'ákil :—*

A single word is sufficient for the wise,

we have a literal rendering of the well known Latin proverb.

• Rúh báit al yabakík, wa lá tarúh báit al yazahakík :—

Go to the house that makes you weep, rather than to the house that makes you laugh : i.e., it is better to listen to the truth, though disagreeable, than to be cajoled with pleasant falsehoods.

In Ecclesiastes we have, in a somewhat different sense, "It is better to go to the house of mourning than to go to the house of feasting ;"—"Sorrow is better than laughter."

The following explains itself :

Al antakal 'alá jārhu, bāt bilā 'ashá :—

He who depends upon his neighbour, passes the night without supper.

Al y'anal rūhhú nakhálá, talqathú al jīj :—

He who makes himself bran, is pecked up by the hens. *i.e.*, he who degrades himself must not be surprised if others treat him with contempt.

Ba' id 'an al 'ain, ba' id 'an al qalb' :—

Far from the eye, far from the heart,
finds an almost exact parallel in our own "Out of sight, out of mind ;" while in the Spanish we have : "Ausencia enemiga de amor. *quan lejos de ojo tan lejos de corazon.*"

The following, which would hardly be borne out by the experience of English Police Courts, speaks well for the treatment of Arab women by their husbands.

Al zoj lo kán fahma, hú rahma :—

If the husband be (black as) soot (*i.e.*, no matter how worthless he may be), nevertheless he is merciful.

Karm Jahí man kís ghairhú :—

Jahí rewarded from the purse of another.

This proverb, which is applied to the cheap liberality that is gratified at other people's cost, has its analogue in the Hindustání "Halwái kí dokán o dádá jí ká fátihá.

A large number of Arabic proverbs, in the narrative form, are based upon stories about this Jahí, a fictitious personage combining a certain amount of waggish wit with a strong disposition to malicious mischief.

Another of the series is—

Jahí o linú wadd—

Jahí and his peg :

which is said of the unpleasant consequences of letting troublesome persons get any sort of footing, however slight, in one's house or affairs. The story on which the proverb is supposed to be based, is that some one hired a house of Jahí, and was weak enough to let him reserve the use of a certain peg in one of the walls, the result being that he was ultimately only too glad to let Jahí have both his rent and the sole use of his house.

Fauq haqqhú daqqhú :—

Blows superadded to injustice,—

reminds us of "adding insult to injury."

"When the cat's away, the mice will play:" has its counterpart in

Ghābat al sabā, 'la'bat al zabā : *

When the lion withdraws, the hyæna plays.

"Habit is a second nature"—is almost literally rendered by

Al 'adat tawam al tabíy 'at : *

Habit is the twin of nature.

Al má y' aaraf tadábírá, hantathá tákil sha'írá :

Who knows not how to manage his affairs, his wheat eats up his barley.

This proverb is based on a legend of a man who, having both wheat and barley, thought to make a profit by selling the wheat and buying a horse with the proceeds, the result of which was that the horse ate up the barley and was eventually sold for no more than its original price.

Al rájál soár, yom yanqasar yom yansár :—

Man is (like) a bracelet, which one day is broken and another re-made, is said of the vicissitudes of fortune.

'Alá qad al kasá madd rajalek :—*

In proportion to thy cloak, move thy legs; has its analogue in the English proverb. "Cut your coat, according to your cloth," and its literal translation in the Spanish "Cada uno estiende la pierna come tiene la cubierta."

"What's one man's food, is another's poison," is represented by

Tu 'mat ul asad takhmat al dhib :—*

The food of the lion is the indigestion of the wolf.

Regarding the uselessness of strength without watchfulness, we have

Kalb al dáyr ahsan man sabá 'al náyim :—

The dog that moves about is better than the sleeping lion

"What the eye does not see, the heart does not grieve," finds its literal translation in

Lá 'ain al ta'ayyan lá qalb yahazan :—

or

'Ain lá tarí qalb la yahazán.*

Regarding the folly of grumbling about what it is in one's power to avoid, we have :—

Ghaznat al yajjik mauhá rihí, shuddhá.

Shut the window from which a bad smell reaches you.

Of those who boast of trifling achievements, is said

Hatta al dhabín yafassí :—

Etiám musca crepitat.

The proverb,

Yafútak man al hayyál sadaq ul kathír :

From the liar much truth escapes you,
embodies another aspect of the truth inculcated in the story of
the boy and the wolf.

Alhaq al hayyál libáb al darj :—

Follow the liar to the door of his stairs :

or

Atba' al kadháb libáb al dái* :—

Follow the liar to the door of his house.

Thammí qabál anní :—

My mouth before my mother,

requires less explanation than justification.

Sána' al ustád ustád unnus :

The pupil of the master is a master and a half, *i.e.*, the master
is excelled by his pupil.

"After death the doctor" is represented by

Ba'd má habalat, shuddat al báb :—

After she had become pregnant, she shut the door :—

or

Aqab má shákh, tafáronhú :—

After he had grown old, they circumcised him ;

or, with still less delicacy,

Ba'd má nákhá 'ashrat sáhab al ghnfra :—*

After they had ravished her, she called to the watchmen.

Kámat al kislún wa kasarát al anjân :—

The lazy (woman) got up, and broke the pan (*i.e.*, lazy persons
do more harm than good, even when they exert themselves.)

"The devil finds mischief for idle hands to do," has its analogue
in

Jahí má kán 'andhú shughal, jáb makhsaf wa naqab khas-
wathú :—

which will not bear translation.

Al Jaredí má, wasa' ba shaqq al háyat, akhaz nakansí ma'hú, :—

Being unable to get through the hole in the wall, the rat took
a broom with him.

"Great cry and little wool" has its equivalent in

Bí wa shará wa má fí b' al tabla shai :—*

Selling and buying and nothing on the tray (of the cellar).

Yahawí b'al chamchá wa 'átai b'al kalgí :—

He accumulates with a spoon, and gives with a ladle
and of those who spend more than they earn.

Kul murr, wa asharab murr, wa lá t'áshar murr :—

Eat myrrh, and drink myrrh, and do not associate with myrrh, *i.e.*, Put up with any privations, rather than associate with a person of sour temper.

Ló kán sáhabak 'así, lá talhashú kullú :—

If your friend is honey, don't lick him all up, reminds one of the proverb of Solomon, "Withdraw thy foot from thy neighbour's house, lest he be weary of thee and so hate thee."

Kul ma' al a'mí h'al insáf :—

Eat fairly with the blind : *i.e.*, do not take advantage of the ignorant or unsuspecting with whom you may be associated.

To'alák den, kul b'idek al sanatén :—

If you are in debt, eat with both hands for two years : is a piece of immoral advice but too often followed among other races besides the Arabs.

"It never rains but it pours" as applied to trouble, is represented in Arabic by

Fauq kul táma táma :—*

Upon every misfortune (another) misfortune.

"Quiesca non movere" may be compared with

Kantu qá'ad batúlí, ma khallání fazúlí :—

I was seated in peace (lit., unoccupied), my officiousness did not let me (remain so) : spoken of the folly of not letting well alone.

Man dá'a al bazúna má yajji matar :—

Rain does not come in answer to the prayer of the cat, said of the impotence of vain prayers or curses, calls to mind the Hindustani proverb "Chamar ké kosné se bail nahin matá." Similar proverbs may be found in most European languages, *e.g.*, in our own,

"The cat's curse hurts the mice less than her bite;" "Threatened folk live long."

Al arádu kullú fát hú kullú :—

Who wanted the whole, lost the whole, expresses the same truth as is illustrated in the fable of the dog and his shadow. We have in English, "All covet, all lose;" in Italian, "Chi troppe abbraccia, nulla stringe."

"Much haste, little speed" may be compared with

Al ísta'jal áthar :—

He who hurries, stumbles.

Nearer still to the Arabic is "Qui trop se hâte en cheminant, en beau chemin se fourvoie souvent."

Adhá kán zojí rází, tsh fuzúl al qází:—*

If my husband consent, why should the Kazi interfere? Has its analogue in the Hindustani

“Jab miyá bíbí rází,

Kya kare shahr ka qází?”

“A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush:” is represented in Arabic by

Alif kurkí fí al júw má t'iwaz 'asfúr fí al kaff:—*

A thousand cranes in the air are not worth one sparrow in the palm of the hand.

The French, “Moineau en main vaut mieux que grue qui vole,” is almost a literal translation of the Arabic.

In

Adhá kán fí idak dihan, amsahha fí aqarab al nás alaik:—*

If there be grease on thy hand, rub it off at thy nearest friends:—

may be compared with our “Charity begins at home.”

Bet shok, wa lá bet baní ádam:—

The abode of the thorn, and not the house of men, (*i.e.*, it is better to take refuge in the wilderness than in another man's house):—

is a misanthropic sentiment which accords but ill with the Arab character for hospitality.

A'mal malih wa armí bil shatt:—

Do good, and cast (it) in the sea:

reminds us of “Cast thy bread upon the waters; it shall return to thee after many days.”

The English proverb, “Ask him whom the shoe pinches,” or the Hebrew, “The heart knoweth its own bitterness” is paralleled in Arabic by—

Má taharak al nár illá kaff watíyá:—

The fire burns not but him who holds it.

Lá tanadam 'alá má fát:—

Grieve not over what is past:—

corresponds with the English: “It is no use crying over spilt milk” and many others. In Hindustani we have, in the same sense, “Jo huá so huá.”

“Evil communications corrupt good manners,” may be compared with—

Atba' al búm yawaddik al kharáb:—*

Follow the owl, he will lead thee to a ruined place

The Spanish, “Quien con lobos anda, á aullar se ensena,” may be compared.

"Birds of a feather flock together,"—is expressed, with a terseness inimitable in any other language, in

Mashá'ih mushákal :—

Like associates with like.

In

Man ba'd rúhí má yatam rúh :—

After my life, no life will remain,
we have the sentiment expressed in "Après moi le deluge."

Another variation is

Lá ba'd rúhí rúh, wa lá ba'd Mosá nabí :—

No life after my life, and no prophet after Moses

We may compare with the above the Hindustaní "Ek ádmí, dubá thá, bolá, Dauro, logo, jag dubá játá haí :—" "A man was drowning; he cried, Run, people, the world is sinking!" which, however, agrees more nearly, in both form and purport, with

A' war waqa't fi 'aiuhú al sahíha qashísha, qál Alláh yamsaikam bal khair :—*

A splinter entered the sound eye of a one-eyed person; "I wish you good night," said he.

Duhýá ba zanzala wa 'arús mahanjalá :—

The earth quaking, and the bride giving herself airs,
is said of those who pester others with trifling grievances at a time of serious trouble or perplexity. (I am by no means sure that I have rightly translated the expression "*dunya bazanzala*" in this proverb.)

Man shab' al insán, dharr al taráb fauq ráshú :—

As soon as a man is satiated, he throws the earth over his head:

is said of the arrogance of those who have got all they wanted.

Lo gharak al má, khallí waledak jawák :—

If the flood comes, put your children under you, *i.e.*, save yourself, even at the expense of your children's destruction.

Another version is—

Adhá já al má tufán aj'al ibnak taht rajalek.* . .

If the flood and storm comes, place your son under your feet.

Regarding the origin of this proverb Burckhardt says: "According to Moslem tradition, when the deluge came and the rebel sons of Noah felt the water approach their ankles, they took their little children in their arms: when the water rose higher, they placed them upon their shoulders, then upon their heads; but at last, when the flood reached their mouths, they put the children under their feet, endeavouring to keep their own heads above the water."

The truth illustrated in the fable of the bull and the frog, is expressed in the proverb,

Baqai' já yamshí mashwat al bakhtiyí, za't al mashwatan :—

The crow that set himself to imitate the gait of the dove, lost both gaits.

“Familiarity breeds contempt,” may be compared with

Ala'b ma' al 'abid, yarowek shiqhu : *

Play with the slave, he will show you his hinder parts.

Qál lu ya filsi 'alesh shana 'tuí,

Qál lú kantu ba jebak 'alesh tala'tuí :—

He said to his money, “Why did you expose me?” His money, answered him, “I was in your pocket, why did you take me out :”— is said of those who cannot keep their own secrets, and yet are surprised that the world talk about them.

Na'lehi kán yana'l al kahela ;

Jat al bazúna, shálat rijalhá wa qálat awal aná :—

A farrier was shoeing a horse ; the cat came, lifted her foot, and said, first I.

In another version given by Burekhardt the beetle takes the place of the cat.

Adasáí, b'al bahar má yanzá :—

A single grain of pulse is not lost in the sea ;
i.e., the smallest sum given in charity brings its reward.

Al umm 'talam, wa al ab yahafar wa yatam

The mother gathers together (her children), and the father digs (a grave) and buries (them) :

is said of the superior affection of the mother for her-offspring.

“Every dog has his day” is represented by

Kul wáhid wa linu rakhsa :—

Every one has his d. uce.

Al sakút markab al saláma :—

Silence is a vessel of safety,
represents our “Least said, soonest mended.”

Rá'zu bal khará, wa dhumbathú li warí :—

His head in the dirt, and his tail to the sky,
is said of the empty pride of persons in mean circumstances.

Má yaqat'al rás illá man rakabhá :—

Only he who put the head on (i.e., God), can cut it off.

Ahf dukán 'ala kaff al rahmán :—

In the hand of The Merciful One are many shops, i.e., God has it in His power to help all.

Qalbī 'alā qalb waledī, wa qalb waledī 'alā al sakhra .—

My heart is (set) on the heart of my children, and the heart of my children is on the stone (*i.e.*, all my thoughts are centred in my children, but they have not the least thought for me), is spoken of the devotion of mothers to their children and the ungrateful indifference of their children to them.

Man al shok ward, wa man al ward shok,
From the thorn roses, and from the rose thorns.

Bahā tarānī aṭāk,

As you behold me, so will I behold you. *i.e.*, as one treats his neighbours, so will his neighbours treat him

Of similar signification is

Bamā tadan tadā.

Al muhtāj akhū 'l qawād *—

The needy is the brother of the cuckold (*i.e.*, is likely to traffic on his wife's virtue), indicates a very low state of morality.

"It's an ill bird that fouls its own nest," has its analogue in

Iblīs mā yakharab bethu,*

The devil does not destroy his own house.

Nai al lail yasabbak rainmād :—

The fire of the night is ashes in the morning, is said of the uncertainty of human greatness, but might also apply to anger.

Asfūr kafal zarzūr wa athnen hum tāiyyānā :—

The sparrow stood security for the swallow (?), and both of them winged creatures, is said of one man of straw standing security for another.

Lā talī' khalāk 'alā al khalāl,

Don't sell your vinegar to the dealer in vinegar.
i.e., don't carry coals to Newcastle

Muhabbat al rajāl mithal shams b'al ghuṭbāl .—

The love of men is like sunshine in a sieve, referring to the fickleness of the male sex

JAMES W. FURRELL

ART VI—FAMINES IN BENGAL, AND THE RECLAMATION OF THE SUNDARBAN AS A MEANS OF MITIGATING THEM.

NO one, however much disposed to cavil, can deny that the Government have at last fairly realised the inevitable fact, that famines must occur periodically in India, owing to irregular or deficient rain-fall, overwhelming floods, etc., and fully accepted the responsibility of the State to do its utmost, utterly regardless of expenditure, to provide against them. We, therefore, deem the present time not an inopportune one to urge on the Government the desirability of encouraging the extension of cultivation in the Sundarban, as a means of mitigating famines in Bengal in future; and this could be accomplished without any cost whatever and eventually afford an additional source of revenue as well. And, in so doing, we shall have to point out how little calculated are the existing Waste Land Rules applicable to it, only very recently promulgated, to effect any augmentation of the area already reclaimed.

The *Englishman*, ever foremost in supplying the public with useful information on the productive resources of this country, had a suggestive leader or two on the subject some time during the early part of the year. The writer, however, could not, we think, be expected to deal with it exhaustively within such a limited page, for, in order to do so, many points, bearing directly and collaterally on the subject, have to be discussed at some length, and this we shall endeavour to do.

Since the advent of our rule, to go no further back, numerous have been the famines that have desolated India, and a short *resumé* of three of the best known and most disastrous of them, we shall proceed to furnish. It will conclusively show how direful were their effects on the population and country; how vitally necessary it is to increase the supply of food grain all over the country, by stimulating the increase of cultivation of such crops, and how very tardily our Government, after displaying the most culpable neglect and remissness during the slow progress of such calamities, for a period extending over a century, have now come to thoroughly appreciate their sacred duty of protecting the lives and alleviating the sufferings of their afflicted subjects in times of famine and general distress. Of the three several famines we select for notice, one occurred in the last century, and two in the present, *viz.* : 1770, 1838, and 1866, respectively. These dates are sufficiently apart from one another to enable us to form a fair estimate of the characteristics of each one of them, and the policy pursued by our Government with regard to them.

separately. Of course we shall not omit to draw attention to, and remark on, the nature of the famines of the current year, and the simple, vigorous, and well-devised measures of both the supreme and local Governments to grapple with it. Without doubt the direct and incidental expenses of the existing famine have been very heavy, if not enormous; but when the lives of human beings are in the scale, it is well nigh impossible to accurately weigh the exact cost of saving them.

We had hardly established our Government in this country (for though the memorable battle of Plassey fought by Clive in 1757 virtually decided our conquest of Bengal, yet it was not till 1765 that we formally obtained the *Durāni* of the three provinces comprised therein), when the terrible famine of 1770 (Bengal year 1276), known to this day among the people as *chhagittar sār Durbhiksha*, or *Manwahara*, broke forth upon Bengal. The excess of rain in Eastern Bengal and deficiency of it in Western Bengal combined to produce famine in both directions, and it extended throughout the valley of the Ganges. Only a small quantity of rice was obtained in Eastern Bengal, and that evidently from the Sundarban, as neither drought nor excessive inundation injuriously affects the crops there to any considerable extent. The mortality caused by the famine was tremendous, and according to Grant one fifth of the entire population perished, while Maclachlan states one third, and Mill five eighths.¹ The sufferings of the inhabitants were intense, and far beyond the power of our feeble pen to portray, so we shall content ourselves by quoting the graphic description of the terrible scenes given by Macaulay,†:—

“Tender and delicate women, whose veils had never been lifted before the public gaze, came forth from the inner chambers in which Eastern jealousy had kept watch over their beauty, threw themselves before the passers-by, and, with loud wailings, implored a handful of rice for their children. The Houghly every day rolled down thousands of corpses close to the porticoes and gardens of the English conquerors. The very streets of Calcutta were blocked up by the dying and the dead. The lean and feeble survivors had not energy enough to bear the bodies of their kindred to the funeral pile or to the holy river, or even to scare away the jackals and vultures which fed ~~on the carcasses~~ on the face of day.”

¹ On the 12th of August of that year the Emperor of Delhi, Shāh Alam, conferred on the Honorable East India Company, the *Durāni* of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, at a conference held at Alahabad. Cf. represented and non-represented

and agreed to pay on their behalf a tribute of two lacs of rupees per mensem from the proceeds of the revenues, to the Emperor.

[†] Macaulay's Essays. Longman & Co. London, 1856, vol. II. p. 177.

A terrible and ghastly picture indeed! Under such fearfully distressing circumstances what aid did the Government afford the people who were perishing around them in thousands for want of a little timely succour? To our everlasting shame be it said,—nothing, aye, literally nothing! The preceding year Mr. Verelst, the successor of Clive, but gifted with none of his rare ability or energy, resigned the post of Governor of Bengal, and was succeeded by Mr. Cartier, who again was far more incompetent than even his immediate predecessor, and it was during his administration that the famine occurred. He made no effort whatsoever to help the famine-stricken inhabitants, and his name will be handed down to posterity for universal execration: the Company's servants amassed huge fortunes in dealing in grain, despite the stringent rule shortly before laid down by Clive, which expressly prohibited their carrying on any such trade, and which he strictly enforced during his incumbency. Campbell, the poet, denounces this mal-practice, and the authors thereof, in these eloquent lines:—

“ Rich the gems of India’s gaudy zone,
And plunder pil’d from kingdoms not their own
Degenerate Trade! thy minions could despise
The heart-born anguish of a thousand cries;
Could lock with impious hands, their teeming store,
While famish’d nations, died along the shore;
Could mock the groans of fellow-men, and bear
The curse of kingdoms peopled with despair;
Could stamp disgrace on man’s polluted name,
And barter, with their gold, eternal shame.”

A great cry was afterwards raised in England against the Company and their inhuman servants, and though they may not have, as Macaulay contends, absolutely “produced or aggravated an evil which physical causes sufficiently explain,” yet to them attaches the infamy, which nothing can extenuate, of withholding help in time of vital need, and remaining quiescent amid the death and misery of their fellow beings. Poor Clive, then in England, came in for a good deal of odium most unjustly, for he was in no wise to blame in this respect; but public indignation, when once aroused, seldom pauses to discriminate between the guilty and innocent, and both are alike condemned.

The next famine we shall refer to is that of 1838, which swept over the North-Western Provinces, where the hapless people experienced acute sufferings, and thousands of them succumbed to hunger. The previous year the autumn harvest had almost entirely failed, owing to scanty rain-fall, and the spring harvest being totally destroyed for lack of moisture, the people were in a

sad plight: many died for want of food, but more emigrated to other places in search of it. The ground was parched up, and the poor cattle, in default of pasture, existed for a time on the leaves of trees, but the slender supply of such food was exhausted before long, and they then slowly perished everywhere. The Government during the course of this famine did not wholly neglect their duty, though they by no means adopted steps in any measure adequate to meet the requirements of the case. In most, if not all, the distressed districts, a moiety of the revenue was remitted, and the entire demand suspended *pro tem*. This much by way of negative relief; while positive relief was afforded the people in the shape of wages for labor, which was employed in constructing public works of a reproductive character, and for which the aggregate sum allowed could not have been large, inasmuch as we find in the "Statistical Report of the district of Kánhpúr," 1840, by Mr (at present Sir) Robert Montgomery, that the entire amount apportioned for so large and important a place was no more than 44,000 rupees. However, the Government directly or indirectly expended for this single district, which felt the famine intensely, no less a sum than 17½ lakhs of rupees, which of course includes remission of revenue. It will be observed, that the Government at this period did actually afford the people some pecuniary assistance wherewith to purchase food, but apparently no attempt was made to supply them with food to purchase, by procuring it for them from elsewhere, which was the only effectual way of rendering them substantial help.

The last of the past famines we have to notice, is the disastrous Orissa Famine of 1866, which was due to drought. For two successive seasons the rice crops for want of moisture failed in the Orissa Division; and there was also more or less severe distress throughout Bengal and Behar. By this time the Government had fully recognized the imperative duty imposed upon them to assist their famine-stricken subjects in every possible way, so as to prevent them from suffering death and misery from starvation, but, alas! they were unable to discover that there would be any visitation whatsoever, until it actually burst forth, or that the food-grain of the province had been well-nigh exhausted until too late to transport grain in any appreciable quantity. Despite the reiterated warnings by the Press, which ~~must be~~ allowed to have performed its duty to the Public right well, the local Government paid no heed, and continued to announce that there were no grounds for apprehensions, and the grain in the hands of the detestably selfish *mahájans* or merchants, which they were holding back from the market in order to command enhanced rates hereafter, was amply sufficient to provide for the requirements of the inhabitants. Nay, even the gratuitous help

benevolently proffered by Messrs. Gisborne and Co., Merchants of Calcutta, who offered to import rice from Burmah, was politely but firmly declined by the head of the Bengal Government, after a consultation with the Members of the Board of Revenue. The local officers were, no doubt, primarily to blame for their highly culpable and perfectly astounding ignorance of the state of their districts; but the Lieutenant-Governor, who visited the province during the early part of the year, and egregiously failed to appreciate the gravity of the crisis, must be held to be mainly responsible for the terrible *dénouement*, for he should have instituted a thorough enquiry, and not rested satisfied with the assurance of the officials whom he consulted on the occasion. It is wrong and unfair to accuse Sir Cecil Beadon of having acted as he did from either incompetence or inhumanity, as some have charged him with having done; but he must be considered to have committed a grave and glaring error of judgment, for which nothing—not even his unsatisfactory state of health at the time—can in the smallest degree exonerate him. We have carefully perused a rather elaborate and powerful defence of Sir Cecil, by an anonymous writer, probably a relative of the ex-Lieutenant Governor, in a periodical which has long ceased to exist (*Indian Society*, Vol. II), and maturely weighed all the points there urged in his favor; but we must candidly confess, that we cannot pronounce him to have “done his duty” in this, the most important period of his long, and otherwise highly creditable, career in India. Neither can the Viceroy, Lord (then Sir) John Lawrence, be held free from blame, though he erred in a minor degree, for he ought not to have trusted implicitly to his Lieutenant, and should have personally enquired into the state of affairs at the time. A Commission of Enquiry, with Mr. (since Sir) George Campbell, then a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, as President, was appointed, and duly submitted their Report; which, while endeavouring to shield sundry exalted personages from censure, did not shrink from revealing the unpardonable blunders committed by all the officials concerned, from the Members of the Board of Revenue downward, with a solitary exception or two. The disgraceful facts laid bare in the Report of the Commission of Enquiry will probably prevent the recurrence of the deplorable ignorance exhibited by the district officers with regard to the state of their respective districts. The sufferings and anguish of the poor and helpless people it is impossible to depict. After the generality of people were unable to obtain grain, they subsisted for a short space of time on the roots and leaves of trees, and greedily devoured even the snails they could pick up in the tanks and trenches, but this disgusting fare too, soon failed them. Then very many died in their homes, and far more emigrated to the metropolis and other well-known places; but

of these, the greater portion, composed of men, women, and children, perished *en route*. A gentleman of the Covenanted Civil Service, who was stationed in Orissa at the time, assured us that he never went out for a ride or walk without observing numerous dead and dying on the roads. The mortality of the inhabitants during the continuance of the famine may, without any exaggeration, be set down at the high figure of two millions! Such was the disastrous Orissa famine, of which some of our readers still doubtless retain an unpleasantly vivid recollection.

We have now a comparatively pleasant task to perform, and that is, to indicate the most prominent circumstances of the present famine. Last year the autumn rains were scanty in the extreme almost everywhere in Bengal, but particularly so throughout Behar, and it was at once officially reported thence that the standing crops were hardly likely to yield any appreciable return, while the *rabi fasal*, or cold weather crops, could not probably be sown for want of moisture.

Now the Government were, happily, fully alive to their duty to the people, and prompt and active in taking action in the matter. The *laissez faire* system had ceased to exist in Bengal, for the reins of Government were in the vigorous hands of Sir George Campbell; who though shattered in health, brought on by dint of sheer hard work, yet at once hastened to Behar to inform himself of the probable extent of the impending disaster, and then came down to meet the Governor-General.

Lord Northbrook, on being apprised of a famine being imminent in the northern parts of Bengal, immediately left Simla for the capital, to personally judge of the magnitude of the approaching distress, and devise means to neutralise its effects. The Lieutenant-Governor received the Viceroy at Burdwan, and they proceeded in company to Calcutta, where a Council was assembled; and all the necessary measures to provide against the calamity, the Lieutenant-Governor was authorized to carry out. Most, in fact, all the recommendations but one of Sir George Campbell were adopted. The exception was with regard to the prohibition of the exportation of rice, in order, it was urged, to retain all the grain within the country for consumption therein. This proposal was wisely negatived by the Viceroy, on the ground that it would unduly interfere with trade, and eventually injuriously affect the interest of the country, for the demand for (excess) rice for exportation created the (surplus) supply, which was our main stay in times of distress, inasmuch as the high rates which would then obtain, would effectually check the purchase of grain in large quantities for shipment abroad. The wisdom of such a course subsequent events have fully borne out, and the trade has in no wise been diverted from this country.

The Government entered the market as large purchasers of rice,

to supply the famine districts with it; and purchased the grain in vast quantities, both in this country and in Burmah, especially the latter, but *gradually* and *privately*, so as not to derange the regular trade in that commodity, and to repress speculation in it as much as possible.* Both these important objects, though most difficult to attain, were fully secured by Government. The total quantity of rice purchased by Government may be estimated to amount to close upon, if not actually, five hundred thousand tons; at an aggregate cost of, probably no less than, five million pounds sterling, including transport, transit, shipping and unshipping, storage, and other charges. Burmah alone supplied 289,534 tons; and the Chief Commissioner of that province, the Hon'ble Mr. Eden, so ably managed the purchase of such an immense quantity, as in no way to interfere with the shipment of rice thence to Europe, which was actually greater in 1874 than in any previous year. The rest of the rice was obtained from Madras, Panjáb, Eastern Bengal, etc.

The Bengal Government, with their wonted energy under the new *régime*, speedily organized measures of relief throughout the distressed districts: the most active and efficient officers, Covenanted and Uncovenanted, were summoned from all parts of the country to carry out the relief operations. A Railroad of over fifty miles in length had been constructed at the unprecedented rate—at least in this country—of one mile per diem, to facilitate the transit of grain to places most in need of it. Scores of military officers were also employed, in expediting the despatch of rice into the interior. Private charity also flowed freely, especially from England; and certain Rājās and native Zamindārs nobly responded to the call to feed their starving countrymen, foremost among whom was the Mahārājā of Burdwan. In fine, all was done that could possibly be done to protect life and prevent starvation. The old and feeble were clothed and fed, and the able-bodied received liberal wages for labor, which was rigidly exacted from them, as a rule, more to prevent them from getting demoralized than to derive benefit from it. The loss of life caused by the famine is infinitesimal, and hardly numbers more than a score.

The famine relief operations have emphatically proved a *grand success*; and the credit of having achieved it, all will readily admit, to be mainly due to Lord Northbrook, Sir George Campbell, and Sir Richard Temple—the last-named officer has had to bear the brunt of the very arduous work imposed on the local Government by the famine, and is more especially deserving of commendation. For once, our Rulers cannot be accused of having done too little for the

* To our knowledge large quantities of paddy, or unhusked rice, were forwarded by traders to the famine districts from the Sunderbans, in open country boats; and we have been informed, on sufficiently reliable authority, that a fair profit was made on such investments.

people ; and if they erred at all, it is from having done a little too much for them. This, if it be so, was nothing more than was to be expected under the circumstance, for the policy of the Government, with regard to famines has been so diametrically opposite to what it had heretofore been, that it was almost impossible for them to accurately judge what would be the exact amount of relief required for the famine-stricken people. Another time—may it be far distant—the happy mean will, no doubt, be attained.

But, independent of the enormous expenditure incurred by the Government, in order to avert the ills that the occurrence of the present famine would have otherwise inevitably entailed on the fair province of Behar and its peaceful inhabitants, huge sums are about to be lavished on irrigation works throughout the country, with the two-fold object, primarily, to prevent the crops suffering from drought, and secondarily, to extend the cultivation of food-grain, and thereby increase the supply. Now, if it be deemed good policy to effect the latter object at vast cost, (and who will gainsay it ?) how much better in every way it would be to do so without any outlay whatsoever, and moreover, at the same time to ensure a gradual augmentation of revenue at no distant date. None, we confidently assert, will venture to dispute the wisdom of such a course, and very many will doubtless like to ascertain WHERE such results can be obtained ? Our reply is,—at our very doors, *i.e.*, the Sundarban, where, moreover, drought, or extraordinarily high inundation—the prevailing causes of famines—rarely occurs to damage the prospects of the crops, and, where nothing remunerative but rice can be grown,* which, therefore, is incapable of being superseded by other crops, as has been the case in other localities.

Before proceeding to furnish a succinct account of the rise and progress of the work of reclamation in the Sundarban, and to point out how such operations may be fostered and advanced, it becomes necessary to very briefly describe the physical features and general characteristics of that tract of country, in order to enable the reader to judge for himself in the matter.

The Sundarban stretches from the brackish waters of the broad Huglí on the west, to the fresh waters of the still broader Megná on the east ; the turbid waters of the Bay of Bengal form its southern limits, and *Zamindári* or *Pargáná* land its northern extremity. All the boundaries are well defined except the last, which has been altered on several occasions arbitrarily, particularly

* *Aya*, not even cotton, sea-island or any other American species, though many have deluded themselves into that belief by being able to produce a few good samples of it from highly favored spots, and at considerable cost ; we emphatically say so, and are not altogether devoid of experience in the matter.

during the incumbency of Mr. J. H. Reily, as Commissioner in the Sundarban. This has caused much litigation between the Government and border Zamindárs, and generally ended in the ignominious discomfiture of the former, who were the aggressors. In shape the Sundarban may be described as an irregular oblong, with a length of about 160 miles, and breadth varying from 70 miles (west) to 30 miles (east), and comprises an area of probably more than 8,000 square miles, which is gradually increasing in width, owing to accretions or alluvial formations on the southward or sea-face. The Government have divided the Sundarban into three unequal portions, longitudinally, conformably to the extent of the boundaries of the districts above, from west and east, in order to separate and define the civil, revenue, and criminal jurisdictions of each one of them accordingly, as the Commissioner in the Sundarban virtually exercises no judicial functions whatsoever, unless it be as a settlement officer, to which his duties may at present be considered to be exclusively restricted. It is thus divided, commencing from the west and going east:—The Twenty-four-Parganá Sundarban, from the Húglí to the Kábalák, ("Dove-eyed river"); the Jessor Sundarban, from the last-named river to the *Haringhátá* ("Deer-shore river"); the Báqirganj Sundarban, from the last-named river to the banks of the Megná, (from *meg* "cloud," and *ná* "not," signifying, significantly, that no boat ought to venture to cross its turbid waters while a cloud is visible on the sky).

We may here state for the information of the reader, that an excellent and comprehensive Map of the Sundarban has lately been issued from the office of the Commissioner in the Sundarban, evidently compiled with great care, labor, and ability, by Mr. James Ellison, Surveyor of the Sundarban, which can be obtained, we hear, for the small sum of Rs. 5 per colored copy, and Rs. 2-8 per plain copy. Mr. Ellison's Map must, both in point of usefulness and cost, supersede all other Maps of the Sundarban, including Capt. Hodges's well-known but costly Map, which, moreover, cannot now be procured, being out of print, we believe.

The Sundarban, in fact the whole of the Gangetic delta, of which it only forms a part,—its lower extremity—is of comparative recent origin, and belongs to, what geologists term, the post-tertiary period, and is almost entirely composed of fluvial accumulations. In precisely the same way as the Lower Egypt is aptly described as "the gift of the Nile," the Sundarban may be designated "the gift of the Ganges," both being mainly due to the detritus borne down by those two rivers, respectively, in their course to the sea, and deposited at their lower ends or estuaries. The successive layers of deposits composing the land

of the Sundarban are also in part marine, as the river Ganges, or rather, we should say, the rivers Ganges and Brahmaputra; with their numerous tributary streams, flow into a tidal sea, the Bay of Bengal; and, to this may be added, terrestrial organic remains. We have ample evidence of the Sundarban having sunk below the surface of the sea, in the discovery of beds of peat near the western Sundarban, containing bones of birds and fishes, seeds and leaves of certain trees, at various depths underground, which also go to prove that the soil at that time was very different from what is at present there, and the river water fresh.

The beds of all the rivers in the Sundarban are lower than the level of the sea at flood, hence they are subject to tidal influence, and although during the rainy season some of the main channels have their currents running apparently altogether downwards, and do not flow at all upwards, yet there is a perceptible rise and fall of water even then. And, it is owing to this that the much dreaded, double-current of some of the rivers at such time, e.g., the Hugli, is produced, being caused by the freshet in its resistless course to the sea, coming in contact with the flood from the sea, over-topping and passing over it, while the latter continues its progress from below.

The surface soil of the Sundarban is a rank black mould, admirably adapted for the growth of paddy, which flourishes there incomparably better than in any other part of the country, and ought fairly to earn for it the title of "the rice fields of India." The rain-fall varies considerably in the western and eastern Sundarban; for in the former, at Saugor Island, it is inches 82.29, according to Mr. Blanford's table of average rain-fall, while in the latter, at Bâqirgâng, it is said to be "from 200 to 300 inches in the year" according to a writer in the *Calcutta Review*, No. 78, p. 209, whom we quote *verbatim et literatim*, in default of any information on the point from Mr. Blanford, as no return for the district of Bâqirgâng is given by him in his aforesaid table.

It is altogether foreign to our present object to enter the arena of debate, and argue on the existence or non-existence of cities and towns in the Sundarban at some probably remote period, so we shall not dwell on this debatable subject, though we hold very decided opinions in the matter. But, keeping well within the bounds of undisputed facts, we find the designation Sundarban to be an absolutely modern appellation—the former denomination was *Bâdri*—hence, we may not unreasonably conclude, that it was not originally covered with forest, for the name Sundarban, it is now universally allowed, signifies *sundri*, (Heriteira minor,) forest. Furthermore, this is fully borne out by the well-established fact, that the main waters of the Ganges formerly flowed west-

ward, along the course of the Húgli, and effectually confined the salt water in that direction within the Bay. Such being the *then* condition of the western Sundarban, we may fairly infer that it was cultivated and inhabited at that time, in the same manner as the eastern Sundarban is at present, under precisely similar circumstances. This much, therefore, is evident, that in those parts of the Sundarban, where there are fresh water rivers, there great facilities exist for clearing, cultivating, and inhabiting such tracts,* which are now to be found only in the Báqirganj Sundarban and certain parts of the Jessor Sundarban: in the latter much forest land is available, but in the former little or nothing at all, as very nearly all the forest lands have been taken up by private parties. However, fresh water is not absolutely necessary to ensure success, for many grants are now flourishing in the Twenty-four Parganá Sundarban, the rivers and *kháls* of which contain nothing but brackish water all the year round.

To that able and energetic district officer, Mr. Tilman Henckell, Judge, Magistrate, and Collector of Jessor, during the latter portion of the last century, belongs the credit of initiating the clearance of the Sundarbans. The first scheme for the reclamation of the Sundarban dates as far back as the 4th April, 1784, or upwards of ninety years ago, which was submitted to the Board, and duly approved of: it provided that the grantees or *talukdárs* should receive a large portion of the land leased to them rent-free, and pay rent for the remainder after a certain number of years, at the rate of annas two per *bigá*, to be gradually increased to annas eight per *bigá*, which was the maximum amount to be levied. The tenures thus created were evidently intended to be of a permanent character, and numerous such holdings are now in existence. Mr. Henckell, in addition to the various posts held by him, as above indicated, was appointed in 1784, "Superintendent for the Cultivation of the Sundarban," and devoted himself with his usual zeal and vigour to the extra duties imposed upon him at his own request. In the first four years nearly fifty thousand *bigás* were leased out,† but boundary disputes between border *samindárs* arising, and the Board not being equally sanguine of the eventual success of the project as the originator thereof, they shortly (in 1790) abolished *in toto* the establishments maintained at the three *Ganjs* or *Bázars*, started

* Because clearers and cultivators in such places are supplied with pure drinking water, and have not to procure it from a distance; besides, substantial or expensive bunds or embankments, to keep out the salt water from the rice crop, are unnecessary. The climate also in such parts is less

insalubrious than in the others.

† Besides the rent of the lands leased out in the Sundarban, the Government used to realise *bunkar* or forest-revenue therefrom, which amounted to Rs. 5,000. Now the collection on this head is nil.

within the Sundarban, *viz* :—Kochua on the Bhairab (“ Dreadful river.”) Chánd Khali on the Kabadak ; and Henckellganj, on the Khálindi. The first two are well known places in the present day, and the last is still known, though its identity has almost been lost by being written as “ Hingulganj ” in the Revenue Survey Map, *vide* the Map of the Twenty-four Pargáná district, or sheet 121 of the Indian Atlas. The reclamation of the Sundarban then retrograded for a brief space of time, after which it again progressed, owing to the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Henckell.

In 1816, the appointment of a Special Commissioner for the Sundarban was created, under Regulation IX. of that year, and Covenanted officers, (among whom we may mention the name of the late Mr. William Dampier, father of Mr. H. L. Dampier, B.C.S.) continuously filled that post up to 1844. In the following year the appointment was thrown open to the members of the Uncovenanted Civil Service, and the first officer selected from the Subordinate Executive Service to fill it, was a Hindu gentleman, Bábu Umákant Sen. Since then the following Uncovenanted officers have filled the post, with more or less credit, *viz*, Messrs. J. H. Reily, C. P. Caspersz, and A. D'B. Gomess, who is the present incumbent. From a return furnished by Mr. A. M. G. Shaw, B.C.S., in 1841, or three years previous to the Sundarban ceasing to be under the direct sway of the Members of the Civil Service,* we find the gross collections of the Sundarban then amounted to Rs. 1,27,910, and establishment charges, including Commissioner's salary and boat allowance, to Rs. 24,390, leaving a balance in favor of Government of over a lakh of rupees. Thirty years afterwards, and about a score of years subsequent to the Rules issued by Lord Dalhousie, when Governor-General of India, which we shall presently refer to, the aggregate realizations increased to Rs. 4,17,570, while the expenditure was Rs. 18,300 ; thus exhibiting a surplus of close upon four lakhs of rupees. And, as regards the extent of clearance, the total area under cultivation is said to be about 1,100 square miles.

The Rules for the grant of Waste Lands in the Sundarban, promulgated during the administration of that wise and far-seeing statesman, the Marquis of Dalhousie, were on the whole fair and liberal, and gave an *impetus* to private enterprise for reclaiming the Sundarban ; the number of grantees were increased considerably thereby, and a large extent of forest cleared and cultivated. The Rules were remarkably concise and simple,—only four in

One of those belonging to that Service who was attached to the Sundarban, and performed good service there, was our respected and learned Judge of the High Court, the Hon'ble F. B. Kemp, who is, and has been for some time, father of his distinguished service.

number, and in this, as well as all other respects, contrast favorably with the absolutely intricate and lengthy Rules that have been subsequently promulgated. They shortly provided that on an application for a grant being made to the Commissioner of the Sundarban, it should be advertised in the *Calcutta Gazette* for a week, and then reported to the Board of Revenue, but if there were two or more applications for the same grant, it was to be similarly advertised for a further period of 15 days, sold to the highest bidder of them, and in like manner reported. If the Board approved of the grant being given to the sole applicant, or the highest bidders among the applicants, as the case might be, he was entitled to a *Pâtâ*, specifying the boundaries, the number of the lot, estimated area, on the following terms, to wit, one-fourth of the entire lot to be for ever exempt from any assessment; the remaining three-fourths to be rent free for twenty years, thereafter to be subject to a rental of half an *aná* per *bigá* from the twenty-first to the thirtieth year, one *aná* per *bigá* from the thirty-first to the fortieth year, one and a half *aná*s per *bigá* from the forty-first to the fiftieth year, and two *aná*s per *bigá* from the fifty-first to the ninety-ninth year, after which it was to be re-assessed. It was also subject to certain conditions as to clearance, in order to effectually ensure that the grantee would use his best endeavours to clear and cultivate the lot. These conditions were that one-eighth of the grant was to be cleared and rendered fit for cultivation at the end of the fifth year, one-fourth at the end of the tenth year, one-half at the end of the twentieth year, and three-fourths at the end of the thirtieth year; and if any of the above stipulations was not fulfilled, the grant was to be resumed, and the land found in cultivation was to be measured and settled with the actual cultivators or under-tenants thereof, to the exclusion of the grantee. The above Rules were unexceptional, saving the last, which we have italicised, as it was singularly hard indeed on such grantees as failed to carry out the contract in its entirety, from no fault on their part. In such cases, surely they were equitably entitled to have such lands settled with them, of course at an enhanced rate of rent, and subject to the leases they may have created with the settlers or actual cultivators, who were fairly entitled to have their rights under the grantees guaranteed to them, in order to protect their interests. This would, we think, inflict no hardship on any of the parties concerned, either the Government, the grantees, or their tenants, and ensure all of them being fairly dealt with.

One of the earliest acts of Sir George Campbell, as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, was to appoint a Committee to prepare revised Rules for the sale of waste lands for the several districts under him, which then included Assam, and of course the Sundarbau was also comprised among them. It is with the latter

only we have to deal ; and it seems strange, and passing strange, that the single officer connected with the Sundarban *i.e.*, the Commissioner thereof, was not appointed a Member of the afore-said Committee, at least we have been so informed, and it is only on this supposition that we can satisfactorily account for the egregious error committed in regard thereto in the afore-said rules. We confidently state, and shall prove that statement before we have done, that the Rules for the sale of waste-lands in the Sundarban, framed by the Committee, and approved and confirmed by the Government, are not calculated to further the interest of either the Government or the Public, whose interests are after all, when correctly viewed, perfectly identical.

The new Rules for the sale of waste-lands were published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 4th February of the current year, and introduced under the following terse notification :—

“ Revenue Department, 2nd February.—The Lieutenant-Governor is pleased to direct that the following Rules for the sale of waste-lands, which have been prepared in communication with the Government of India, shall be published for the guidance of the Government officers concerned, and for the information of the Public. The rules will take effect at once. By order, &c., (Sd.) H. L. Dampier, Secretary to the Government of Bengal.”

The Rules thus enacted are most elaborate and rather complicated, and certainly by no means adapted for the Sundarban: The cumbersome and vexatious procedure laid down for the purchase of waste lands, which, moreover, necessitates needless expenditure for survey, etc., is decidedly not inviting to intending purchasers. But, what is the greatest hindrance, and will effectually preclude the public from becoming purchasers of waste land in the Sundarban, except under the most exceptionably favorable circumstances,—such as small plots contiguous to cultivated lands—is the upset price, Rs. 5 per acre! How and why this virtually prohibitory rate came to be prescribed we are utterly unable to conjecture. We believe that very able and efficient officer, Mr. V. H. Schalch, C.S.I., formed one of the Committee that drew up the Rules in question ; and the experience of the value of Sundarban lands, doubtless acquired by him when Commissioner of the Presidency divisions, for the Commissioner in the Sundarban is immediately subordinate to such officer, ought to have effectually precluded such a glaring blunder being perpetrated.

That a serious blunder has been committed will be evident from the following simple calculation. The area of a lot is ordinarily to be restricted to 1,500 acres=1,500 *bigás* roughly, from which, if we allow 500 *bigás* for *kháls*, etc.,—the Government conceded on this account one-fourth of the entire area under the old Rules

given above—the remainder will be 4,000 *bigás*. Now to simply clear this land will cost the purchaser certainly not less than Rs. 2 per *bigá*, or altogether Rs. 8,000, and the establishment and other charges will probably amount to as much, which sums added to the purchase-money, Rs. 7,500, give an aggregate Rs. 23,500, or in round numbers Rs. 24,000 will be the capital required for the undertaking. And, to this has to be added the loss of interest on the capital, till the lot becomes adequately remunerative, say for ten years at five per cent. per annum = Rs. 12,000, which swells the liabilities of the capitalist to Rs. 36,000. On the other hand, his assets in the shape of rent may be estimated to amount to Rs. 3,000, at 12 *anás* per *bigá*. Such lands will hardly sell for more than ten times their clear annual profit, or Rs. 30,000, so the enterprising capitalist will gain nothing, but on the contrary absolutely lose Rs. 6,000. We have been careful to give a fair average of the probable sums likely to be debited and credited to such lands as are available for sale at present in the Sundarban if reclaimed; and the reader can now judge for himself as to what are the inducements held out by the Government to the Public to embark in projects for utilising the Sundarban, and if they are such as to induce people to do so.

In juxtaposition to the above, we will show how the grantee or capitalist would fare under the old system. His outlay would be Rs. 16,000, one moiety thereof for clearance, and the other moiety for establishment, etc., as shown above, and the loss of interest on the capital, say for $7\frac{1}{2}$ years—as no portion of it would have to be paid down in a lump sum in the beginning—at five per cent per annum, Rs. 6,000, making in all Rs. 22,000. While the grantee would receive similarly Rs. 3,000 as rent, from which deducting the Government Revenue on *bigás* 3,375—the whole area of the lot minus one-fourth thereof—@ 2 annas per *bigá*, Rs. 421-14, there remains a net income of Rs. 2,578-2 only. Now, if the lot was sold, it would probably fetch a little less than ten times its annual rental, or say Rs. 25,000, which would leave the capitalist a gainer of Rs. 3,000, a very moderate profit indeed, but not too inadequate to deter capitalists from hazarding their money in such investments.

The above are hypothetical cases, and though based on carefully estimated figures, are nevertheless liable to be disparagingly characterised, by those who choose to do so, as mere paper-calculations; so we shall proceed to establish the value of forest-lands in the Sundarban from actual facts. The lands of Nali-Sānpnejá, a lot in the Bāqirganj Sundarban, were only a few years ago put up to auction; and though hotly competed for by the late Mr. H. G. Morrell, for Messieurs Morrell, on one side, and Mr. C. P. Caspersz, on behalf of Mr. F. Schiller, on the other, only realised

Rs. 32,300 as the highest bid,—which was above the upset price put upon it—for 12,605 acres, or a little more than half the sum now fixed as the upset price per acre. Both the gentlemen above named were well acquainted with the lot in question: the latter having been before then Commissioner in the Sundarban, and the former, Manager or farmer under the Government of the cleared portion,—not of course included in the above 12,605 acres—of it; so they might justly be expected to have known its full intrinsic value. We may add, that from personal knowledge we are able to state, that there exists no other undisposed lot in the whole Sundarban nearly so favorably situated, or possessing such special advantages, as the aforesaid lot, Nali-Sánpnejá, now known as Schillerganj.*

We have now, we venture to think, fairly established, from facts and figures, that the recently introduced Rules for the sale of waste-lands in the Sundarban are altogether unsuited to it, and evidently based on erroneous and exaggerated notions of the value of such lands. If it be so, and we know of none possessed of experience on the subject who are likely to gainsay it, then those Rules ought to be set aside, and others drawn up in their stead, better adapted to meet the special requirements of the case. We have already detailed the admirable Rules for the grant of waste lands in the Sundarban, promulgated during the administration of the Marquis of Dalhousie, which are at once concise and perspicuous; and all we can recommend on this head is to revert to them with slight modifications, *e.g.*, if a grantee fails, through no fault on his part, to clear his grant as stipulated by him, such portions thereof as he has rendered fit for cultivation ought to be settled with him at an enhanced and fair rate of rent. Thus the grantee would be assured, that in case he failed from any cause beyond his control to clear the allotted proportion of his grant, he would not altogether be precluded from reaping the fruits of his labor.

One more, and by no means a minor point, remains to be discussed. It may not unreasonably be asked,—how is it that the Sundarban Commissioner's office is located in the suburbs of Calcutta, to wit Alípúr, which is out of his jurisdiction? The answer to such a question would probably be given, on the following grounds: firstly, to ensure the health of that officer and his establishment during the unhealthy seasons, when inspection duty is over; secondly, to afford facilities to the majority of the grantees, who reside in town, to transact their business; and thirdly, to expedite official business, as the office of the Revenue Commission of the Presidency Division is situated in the same place. The above are *prima facie* good and sufficient grounds, but are capable of being satisfactorily refuted. We shall deal with them *seriatim*. We agree in thinking that the office of the "Commissioner in the Sundarban,"

as that officer is erroneously designated, ought not to be situated within the limits of the Sundarban, for the reason alleged; but the suburbs of Calcutta are not healthier, we apprehend, than some of the places centrically situated with regard to the Sundarban which are fairly entitled to have preference to Alípur, as the latter is beyond the western extremity of the Sundarban, and ergo far removed from its eastern extremity and its centre. With regard to the inconvenience to the bulk of the grantees, who reside within the Twenty-four Pargánás, we believe most of them manage such business as they have in the office through muktíars, and as the services of such agents can be obtained in any of the Government sub-divisions, this ground too is untenable. And, with reference to the despatch of official business, we do not find that Revenue Commissioners have ever complained of any difficulty in conducting their—far more important—business with district officers by letters per post, and doubtless no inconvenience would result if they had also to transact their business with the Sundarban Commissioner in the same way. Of the various sub-divisions situate on the borders of the Sundarban, viz.:—Sátkhirā and Baschát in the Twenty-four Pargánás, Perozpúr in Báqirgang, and Bágh-lát and Khulná in Jessor, the last named is in every way the best adapted for the head-quarters of the Commissioner of the Sundarban. It is a very short distance from the middle portion of the Sundarban; it is on a large and fresh-water river; it is comparatively healthy; it is a well-known place; it is 37 miles from the large and important station of Jessor; and it is within twenty-four hours of *dák* from Calcutta. Besides, a Munsiff's Court is located at Khulná, and it is on the boat route to the eastern districts.

Before bringing our article to a close, "we would fain urge" on the powers that be to consider the urgent necessity that exists for promoting to their utmost ability the reclamation of the Sundarban, not only as a means of augmenting the rice supply of Bengal, and thereby mitigating future famines, but also to provide available lands for the rapidly-increasing population of the Lower Provinces. Thanks to the peace and security established through our firm rule in this country, the philoprogenitiveness of the Bengalis has had full indulgence, and as in future neither famines nor epidemics are likely to be permitted to periodically decimate the population, the people must, inevitably, vastly increase in number. Now whence is this excess population to derive their *pabulum*? They must either starve and slowly die off, or the area of cultivation of food-grain must be considerably extended, to enable them to provide themselves with sustenance. Of course our Government can only recognise the latter alternative; then the sooner they accept it and act on it, the better will they

be able to fulfil their sacred trust. If our poor efforts should in any way induce the Government to give heed to this vitally important subject, we shall not have written in vain.

H. JAMES RAINEY.

Khulná, Jessor.

N.B.—We have advisedly refrained from entering at all into the question, as to how the work of reclamation can be most advantageously carried on, as we do not consider it to come within the limits we have assigned this article. It may, perhaps, form the subject of another paper at some future time.

H.J.R.

ART. VII.—RUSTIC BENGAL

V.—RURAL CRIME.

RURAL crime does not assume any very varied forms. One of the commonest is dacoity (*dakaiti*), *i.e.*, gang-robbery. The *badmashes*, or bad characters of two or three adjoining villages are, to a certain extent, associated together. They are ostensibly ryots, or sons of ryots, and like every one else about them more or less dependent upon agricultural labour for their livelihood. Though it generally happens that they become to their neighbours the objects of a somewhat undefined suspicion, still, as a rule, they manage to maintain their social position whatever that may be. Their method of operation is very simple. Some one, whose reputation for accumulated wealth makes him worth attacking, is selected. A dark or stormy night is taken for the purpose, and then the band assembles under a *peepul* tree, or at some other convenient place of assignation. Generally each man wears a mask, or conceals his features with his cloth, and carries some weapon; *lattees* are the most common, but sometimes quaint old swords of an almost forgotten shape make their appearance, and instruments specially contrived for cutting open mat walls and probing thatch are brought out. From the place of assembling the gang proceeds to the victim's homestead and quietly surrounds it; next, at a signal, when all is ready, the more daring rush forward and break into the homestead by cutting through the matting, or forcing down a door, or climbing over the roof. The males, who may be sleeping in the outside verandah, are immediately seized and bound. Those who are inside are not always so easily disposed of, because they will probably have been aroused by the uproar before their assailants reach them. In a very few seconds, however, as the attacking party is invariably greatly superior in force, and by no means scrupulous in the use of their weapons, these too succumb and are bound hand and foot, or otherwise secured.

Then commences the *looting*, which must be effected very hurriedly, for a little delay might suffice to bring the whole village down upon the robbers. A torch or two is lighted, *pitaras* forced open, every likely corner is searched. The floor of the huts is hastily probed or is dug up to discover the buried pot, which is a favourite form of safe for the custody of jewels, or of spare cash, when the ryot has any. Or, perhaps, the owner of the homestead is compelled by torture to reveal the place of his valuables: for instance, he is rolled naked backwards and forwards over hot ashes, or a burn-

ing torch is held under his armpits, &c. All the booty which can, in these modes, be laid hold of is promptly carried off, each man loading himself with what he can succeed in putting his hands upon. If there is probability of immediate pursuit, every one will go his own way, and take care of himself, and all will meet again subsequently by arrangement to divide the spoil. If there is no such danger, the *dakait*s will at once go to a place of meeting (in a jungle, if possible) and settle each man's share of the stolen property.

The police are almost entirely powerless to prevent these outrages, and they cannot always be said to be successful in detecting the perpetrators of them. There can be no doubt that in some parts of Bengal the profession of a *dakait* is sufficiently lucrative to tempt idle men to brave its risks. If somewhat irregular measures were not taken to suppress it, probably it would attain unendurable dimensions.

Accordingly the police may sometimes be found waging a warfare against *dakaiti*, which is very characteristic. When information of a *dakaiti* having been committed reaches the thannah, a Darogah with a few chaukidars goes at once to the spot. He satisfies himself by inquiries as to who are the reputed *badmashes* of the neighbourhood, and then immediately arrests some one, two or three of them, such as he thinks will be most likely, under the circumstances of the case, to serve his purposes. Having thus got these unfortunate men into their hands, the police, by promises of pardon, coupled with material inducements, which, in many cases, amount to a refined system of torture, procure them to make confessions and to implicate a great many others of the previously ascertained *badmashes*. The next step, of course, is to arrest all these, and to search their houses. At this stage of matters the complainant is in a position such as to render him a ready tool of the police. He will have a nest of hornets about his ears for some years to come, unless he succeeds in bringing a conviction home to each of the arrested men. So he seldom finds much difficulty in recognizing in the searched houses articles which had been stolen from him. If, however, for any cause he cannot at first do this, the police have recourse to a very simple expedient for the purpose of assisting him. They obtain from the bazar, or elsewhere, articles similar to those which the complainant says he has lost; and, under colour of watching the prisoner's houses, manage to get these articles secreted in or about the premises according as opportunity may offer itself. About this time the Sub-Inspector or other officer charged, as it is termed, with the investigation of the case, comes upon the ground. Also the prisoners, who have all of them been separately and constantly worked upon by the police, have generally become pliable enough to confess, in

accordance with the story more or less definitely marked out for them, and sometimes even are persuaded to point out (under the guidance, of course, of the *chaukidars*) the very places where the imported articles have been concealed ! These places are generally, for obvious reasons, more often outside the accused persons' homestead than inside, such as in tanks, trunks, of trees, under the soil of the *khet*, &c. But sometimes opportunity serves for placing the articles inside the very huts of the dwelling. The Inspector on his arrival thus finds his case complete ; he takes it before the Magistrate, the evidence of the witnesses is written down ; the articles are produced and sworn to. It seems that they have all been found in the prisoners' possession in consequence of information or clues afforded by the prisoners themselves, and the case of the prosecution is overwhelming. But even the very last nail is rivetted by the prisoners, or most of them, confessing in the most satisfactory manner possible. Thereupon they are all committed to take their trial at the Sessions in due course. On entering the prison walls, the state of things changes very much. The committed prisoners are relieved from the immediate personal supervision and control of the police. They converse freely with one another, and with other prisoners waiting trial ; they also communicate with *Mookhtars*, or law agents, concerning their defence. They find that whether innocent, or guilty, they have made great fools of themselves by confessing at the police dictation ; and the upshot of it is, that when the trial in the Sessions Court comes on, they all plead not guilty, and say that their former confessions were forced from them by the police. This, however, avails them but little. Their recorded confessions are put in against them, and the court, with the remark that prisoners always do retract when they get into jail, holds that the confessions are supported by the discovery of the articles, convicts the prisoners, and sentences them to terms of imprisonment or transportation.

When a case of this character occurs the Sessions Judge is not usually quite unconscious of the police practices in these matters, but he is almost invariably, in any given instance, often rightly so convinced of the guilt of the persons whom he is trying, that he is astute to find out reasons why in that particular case the confessions were made voluntarily, and the alleged finding of the stolen articles may be depended upon. In a recent instance the Judge said that he could not help seeing that the police had behaved very cruelly to the prisoners, and had made them illegal promises of pardon in order to extort confessions ; but still he thought that the discovery of the articles in the premises of the different prisoners (effected by the way, in a more than ordinarily suspicious manner) entirely

corroborated and rendered trustworthy the confessions which were made.*

Little hesitation is felt even at this day in vindicating family honor by taking life. Sometimes this is done in a most savage and brutal manner. A story made out of the facts, slightly altered, of a case which lately occurred, will serve as an illustration. An enterprising young Mahomedan, who had been in the habit of finding employment in some district remote from his native village, and who may be called Abdool, returned home on one occasion for a few weeks as he had several times done before; and while at home he stayed in his family homestead, where his mother, a brother, a cousin, and others resided. He visited his old friends, and, amongst others, he seems to have been received with especial cordiality by the members of a Hindu family who may be designated as the family of one Kissori Mohun. Almost every evening he used to go to their homestead, and played cards or dice with them in the *baithakhana* up to a late hour of the night. One night, however, just as his home visit was drawing to a close, he had not done so and he was sleeping in the outside verandah of the family *bari* in company with his brother, the other members of the family being inside the huts. About midnight some strangers came up to the verandah, aroused him, spoke to him, and then the two went away together; the brother who was lying asleep near

* The mode of action on the part of the police, which is above illustrated, is an inheritance from former times, and is from its nature very difficult of riddance. The tendency of the Bengal policeman seems to be to force out truth rather than to find out truth. He is not apt at building up a case with independent and circumstantial materials drawn from various sources, and would certainly never willingly venture to present to the court which has to try the case merely the constituent materials, leaving the court itself to put them together; he feels it necessary to take care that some, if not all, of the witnesses should narrate the whole case from beginning to end. There is also extreme readiness in the lower classes of Bengalis, when under coercion, or pressure, as in all whose civilization is of a servile order, to say anything even to the extent of accusing themselves, which they may be led to think will smooth their way out of impending danger; and this is coupled with extraordinary quick-

ness at perceiving the present state of matters, comprehending what will be agreeable to those, who care for their information, and making their statement consistent therewith. The police are, therefore, naturally under great temptation to avail themselves of a means of evidence, which lies so near to their hands, and is so entirely adapted to their purpose. But bad as confessions of prisoners, evidence of accomplices, declarations of dying men, who have played a part in criminal occurrences, generally are in Europe, they are for the cause just mentioned greatly worse in this country. They cannot safely be relied upon even as against the speaker themselves except as a sort of estoppel, unless they be corroborated. As against others they are hardly of any value at all. If the circumstances of Native society were not such that suspicion commonly directs the police to the real offenders, convictions upon a basis such as that exemplified in the text could not be tolerated.

him was partially awakened by the voices, saw the two men go off in the dull light of the night, but troubled himself no more about the matter, and went to sleep again. In the morning Abdool was nowhere in the *bari*, and in fact was never after seen again. Still the members of his family did not feel any anxiety about him. They supposed that he had for some reason suddenly gone back to the place of his employment, without giving them notice of his intentions, for he had on a former occasion acted precisely in this manner.

Four or five days after this disappearance of Abdool two boys, who were tending cattle grazing in the *máth*, found a skull lying in a short sward of *arhar* not very far from the bank of the Ganges. The skull was entirely denuded of flesh, but was stained with recent blood, and had the teeth in the jaw. The news of the discovery soon reached the village, and Abdool's mother and brother immediately went to the spot. They suspected at once that the skull was Abdool's, and afterwards became satisfied that it was so by reason of some peculiarities in the teeth. Information was sent to the nearest police thannah; the usual kind of investigation took place. Several arrests were made and confessions obtained. Two of these could be depended upon, so far as the confessing persons were concerned, though not further; and the corroborating evidence manufactured by the police was of an unusually despicable character. From these confessions it appeared that what had happened was as follows:—Kissori Mohun's people had formed the notion that Abdool had become too intimate with a young married girl of their family, and they determined, before he left the village, to put him out of the way. So, on the eve (so to speak) of his departure, a dependent, of Kissori Mohun's was sent at night to invite him to play as usual; the attraction was great and he went. On his arrival at the *bari* he was surrounded in the darkness by half-a-dozen members of Kissori Mohun's family, who were prepared for the task; a cloth was twisted round his neck by which he was dragged into the *baithakhana* all present fell upon him, and killed him with their elbows. They then carried the body towards the Ganges, and in order to secure its rapid disappearance without identification, they stopped half way in the *máth*, hacked it into small pieces with a *dáo* which they had brought with them, put the pieces into a sack, and carried them to the bank of the river and there shot them out into the swift flowing current. But, unluckily for them, in the hurry, and the darkness without noticing the fact, they left the skull in the *máth*, jackals and vultures, speedily bare the bone and removed the features of the face, but enough remained to furnish the clue, which led to the discovery of the savage deed.*

* This was in substance the case of established against one out of several the prosecution; and it was only persons accused.

But there is a class of purely agrarian outrage, which is, perhaps, more common than any other form of rural crime. Its root lies in the complex relations which connect the tiller of the soil with one another, and with the rent-receiver. A strong sense of vested right unprotected by the arm of the law, leads in India, as elsewhere, to the endeavour at vindicating it by violence. Very often a ryot, on the occasion of a dispute between the zemindar and his neighbour, will get the plots of the latter, or a portion of them, probably on higher terms, transferred to him at the *kachukri*, but will be obliged to resort to force in order to obtain or keep the actual possession of them. Or one of several co-sharers, cultivators, will pay the entire rent of a holding, and failing to obtain from one of the others the quota due from him, will forcibly prevent him from tilling his plot till he pays—a very effective mode of coercion when it can be exercised, for the sowing period of the year may be limited, and not to till then means starvation. The following true narrative is an example:—

Fakir Baksh, Somed Ali, Sabid Ali, and others, were co-sharers of a certain *jote*, or holding of land, representing the different branches of what was originally one family. There had been a good deal of disputing about the shares, and when Fakir Baksh was about to prepare his allotment for sowing, Sabid Ali, who had paid up the full rent, or at any rate more than his share, and felt aggrieved at Fakir Baksh's refusal to recoup him, determined to prevent him from cultivating his land until he did so. In this state of things, at sunrise one morning, Fakir Baksh and his three kinsmen, Somed Ali, Sharaf Ali, and Imdaz Ali, began ploughing with four yoke of bullocks, and almost immediately afterwards, while they were so engaged and unarmed, Sabid Ali came upon them with eight or nine men at his back and attacked them with the intention of driving them off the ground. The members of Sabid Ali's party were all armed with *lattees*, except one Taribullah, who had a gun, and they therefore expected to meet with an easy victory. Somed Ali, however, and Sharaf, who were both unusually powerful young men, left their ploughs and boldly facing the enemy, actually managed to wrench a *lattee* each from the hands of their opponents. With these they laid about them so lustily and with so much skill that Sabid Ali and his men were forced to retreat. Close in their rear was a shallow *khal*, somewhat awkward to cross, and Taribullah, in desperation, raised his gun, which was loaded with small shots, fired and hit the advancing Somed Ali full in the chest, killing him on the spot. By the same discharge Sharaf Ali was seriously wounded. On the happening of this catastrophe the affray ended. Sabid Ali's party, thoroughly frightened at the results of the expedition, dispersed as best they could without having attained their object.

A story of much the same kind may be told wherein the zamindar's people were the aggressors. A *mouzah*, or village, had been sold in execution of a decree, and a stranger had purchased it. This new zamindar very soon took measures for enhancing the rents of his ryots. He was successful in obtaining *kubulyats* at increased rates from several ryots, but the headman of the village (*mandal*), whose example was most influential, sturdily held out and led the opposition. It was resolved that he should be coerced; so at day-break, one morning, a party of the zamindar's peons and adherents, armed with *lattees* and guns, started from the *kachakri* for the *mandal's* homestead, with the view of capturing him and carrying him off. This homestead fortunately was a substantial one, and the different huts were connected by pretty strong bamboo fencing. Thus the *bari* admitted of being defended by a relatively small force. In the *mandal's* family were four or five grown-up men, besides the women and children, and in addition to these, as it happened, two friends come from a distance had passed the previous night there. No one had left the *bari* when the zamindar's party arrived. The latter very largely out-numbering the men of the homestead, with threats of an abominable kind, caked upon the *mandal* to surrender, but these threats only nerved the *mandal* and his friends to resistance in defence of the female apartment. For a time the attacking party seemed unable to do anything, until taunted by their leader they at last made a rush, broke down the fence at one corner of the homestead, and fired a gun at the men inside, of whom two fell. The immediate effect, however, was not that which might have been anticipated, for one of the remaining defenders promptly seized the gun which had just been fired, knocked down its owner, two of his companions laid hold each of an opponent, and the zamindar's party forthwith decamped, leaving three of their number prisoners in the hands of the *mandal* and his kinsmen. The cost of the victory was severe, for it was found that one of the two men who had been shot was dead.

In another case, the *mandal* of a village had, as the ryots thought, been taking too much the side of the zamindar in certain matters, and it was therefore resolved in "committee" that he should be punished and warned. A certain number of the ryots were charged with the duty of giving him a beating at the first convenient opportunity, and the whole assembly undertook to hold them harmless as far as money might afterwards be needed. A few days after this, one evening, when it was dusk, these commissioned ryots managed to meet the *mandal* as he was alone driving two or three small cows home from the *khét*. They succeeded in getting into altercation with him, and beat him, leaving him on the ground from which he never again rose alive.

A last instance of rural crime may be given in the shape of a faction fight. As frequently happens in some parts of Bengal, the ryots and tenure-holders of a certain village and its neighbourhood were divided into two parties, the one consisting of the partizans and adherents of the Rajah, ten-annas shareholder of the zamindari, or ten-annas zamindar as he was termed, and the other of those of the Ghoses, the six-annas zamindars. One Asan and his brother Manick, who lived in one homestead and held under the Ghoses, had had a quarrel with one Kalidas, a substantial ryot on the Rajah's side, relative to the common boundary between their respective plots of ground; and some effort had been made by the Rajah's people to make Asan give up his *jote* to Kalidas, or to enter into *zimma* relations with the Rajah. Nothing, however, came of this for many months, until one morning early four or five *lathials* of the Rajah's party came to Asan's homestead on some vaguely explained errand. Most of Asan's neighbours were, like himself, adherents of the Ghoses, but one or two, and among these a man called Kafi Mahomed, whose *bari* was only two or three hundred yards distant from that of Asan, belonged to the Rajah's faction. The *lathials*, apparently, not succeeding at once in their mission to Asan, retired for a time to the *bari* of their friend, Kafi Mahomed, sending meanwhile a message to the Rajah's *kuchakri*. Two or three hours passed. Asan and his brother, Manick, having taken their mid-day meal, were resting in their *bari*, when suddenly an uproar occurred—four or five men rushed in to seize Asan and Manick, who then found that some 100 or 150 men had come up to the assistance of the *lathials* of the morning and were approaching in force from the south side to the attack of the *bari*. The brothers attempted to escape, and Manick was fortunate enough to get away on the north; but Asan was laid hold of by the men and was carried off in triumph to the main-body of the assailants, who were collected on a *banga*, running east and west on the south side of the *bari*. Manick then came up with some of the Ghose party, whom he had hurriedly collected, and, seeing his brother a prisoner in the hands of the enemy, rushed forward to save him. He was, however, almost immediately speared by two men in succession; on this Asan got free and laid hold of one of them but was beaten off, himself receiving a slight spear-wound in his hand. On Manick's falling, the cry was raised that a man had been killed, and as is usual on such occasions the attacking party immediately fled. Manick died a few minutes after he was stabbed, and thus ended the conflict; as suddenly as it had begun.

VI.—ADMINISTRATION AND LAND LAW.

Of course, doings of a kind such as those which have been above narrated (generally, though not always) come sooner or later

under the cognizance of the police and their English superior officers. But the general peace of the village is, as a rule, preserved by the influence of the zamindar and the *panchayet*. The English official is personally seldom seen in the remoter country village. The reason for this is very plain. A zillah district in Bengal, which is sometimes roughly compared with an English county, comprises an area of from two to three thousand square miles, and has a population of say from one to two million souls; while the county of Suffolk, to take an example, has only an area of 1,454 square miles and a population of some 360,000. Now, all the European officers, in a whole zillah, will be one Magistrate and Collector, with three or four Joint, Assistant, and Deputy Magistrates; one District and Sessions Judge, one Additional Judge, one Small Cause Court or Subordinate Judge, one Superintendent of Police, one Assistant Superintendent of Police, and one Medical Officer, say eleven or twelve in number, of whom about one-half are kept by their duties at the zillah station. It would be impossible in a few lines to convey any very accurate idea of the functions of the Magistrates, and of the rest of the executive officers. Nor is it needfull to attempt to do so here. Their administrative powers are very considerable. The Magistrate and Collector especially is to the people almost a king in his district. His name and authority travel into the remotest corners, though he himself in his cold weather tours can only visit comparatively few spots of it in the year. However, for the causes already mentioned, the great bulk of the people in the country villages have no personal relations with the European officer of any kind.

The small zamindar, who has been before described, or the Naib of a larger man, is commonly the person of ruling local importance. And there are no tax-gatherers even: all the taxation of the country takes the form of land revenue, stamps, customs, and excise, for the assessed taxes, in the whole, are insignificant and certainly never reach the mofussil villages. The excise tends to make the *tari* somewhat dearer to the ryot than it otherwise would be, a result which is hardly a grievance, but it also increases the price of salt, a prime necessary of life, and this is a serious misfortune. The customs scarcely touch the ryot. Stamps, for special reasons, he has very little objection to, and the revenue is inseparable from his rent, so that, in the whole, with the agricultural population, the incidence of taxation is chiefly felt in three modes, in the payment of *rent*, in the price of *salt*, and in the *stamps*, which are needed for every proceeding in a court of justice or public office, of copy of any paper filed in any court or office, or document of agreement, or receipt, &c.

Committing the latter as being in some degree of a voluntary character, the two others remain as the two great burdens upon the ryot. It has been explained in the foregoing pages how extremely poor the ordinary ryot is, and how commonly he depends upon the *māldājan* system for his means, even of paying his rent. It seems impossible then, at first sight, to devise any method by which the public revenue of the country can be increased by contributions from this class of the community. Lately an attempt has been made in this direction by the imposition of a road cess. The cess may be roughly described as a small rateable addition to the rent of each ryot which he is to pay to his rent-receiver, through whom it is eventually transmitted to Government, together with a further small addition to be paid by the rent-receiver himself. There are many very grave objections to this form intrinsically, as, perhaps, is the case with all taxes; but the formidable objection to it is, that it is capriciously unequal: it exacts more from the ryot who is already highly taxed by his rent, than from him who is less so. And it is not possible by any general rules of exception to bring about even approximate equality in this respect.

If the amount of taxation must needs be increased, it can only be done so equitably by a contrivance which shall have the effect of apportioning the tax to the means of the payer. While the general body of ryots are miserably poor, and can hardly bear the existing taxation, there are, no doubt, many among them who are comparatively well off, some of them being rent-receivers, in some manner or another, as well as cultivating ryots, and there are besides in every village well-to-do persons, petty dealers, and others, of more or less accumulated means. These all have a margin of means which may be said to be at present untaxed relative to their neighbours, the ryots, and which will fairly enough admit of being taxed, if some equitable plan of making the levy could be discovered.

It might, perhaps, be imagined that something in the nature of an income-tax would answer this purpose. But the fact is, that an income-tax must always fail in this country, even if it be only for the reason that the necessary machinery for assessing and collecting it is inevitably corrupt and oppressive. But, probably, the difficulty might be overcome by making an assessing body out of a village *panchayet*, who should be charged with the duty of assessing the means of every resident of the village above a certain minimum amount; and by then allotting to each village certain local burdens of a public character, which should be discharged out of rates, to be levied from the persons assessed, under the superintendence of local officers. In this way some of the work now done, at the cost of Government, for local objects, out of the

provincial funds, might be better carried out than it is at present, and even additional work done by the village itself; and so the money in the hands of Government would in effect be correspondingly increased.

Another very useful end would possibly be served by the creation of something in the nature of parochial administration. The general tendency to engage in litigation might be in some measure damped by providing occupation of this sort; if it be the case, as many well-informed persons believe, that the unquestionable prevalence of litigation is due to the idleness in which the ryot spends the larger portion of the year.

There are, however, much more potent causes of litigation existing in Bengal than this; and as one of them, namely, the nature of the land tenure, very greatly affects the different phases of village life, some account of it will not be out of place here.

*In the foregoing pages the designation 'zamindar' has been given to the person who collects rents from ryots, by virtue of any sort of right to enjoy the rents, and it will be presently seen that such a right may be of various kinds and denominations. The system throughout all India is, that a portion of the rent, which every cultivator of the soil pays for his plot, goes to Government as land revenue. In the whole, the Government of India receives about 20½ millions sterling per annum in the shape of land revenue. Three very different modes of collecting this prevail in, and are characteristic of the three great Presidencies respectively. In Bengal, the amount of this revenue, and the method of collecting it, formed the subject of the famous Permanent Settlement of 1793. Previously to the assumption of the Government of the country by the English, a 'land revenue, more or less defined in its characters—often spoken of as a share in the produce of the land—had from time immemorial been paid to the established Government of the day, Hindu or Mahomedan, as the case might be. The collection of the revenue and its payment to Government was effected by officers, who, in later days, were generally called zamindars, each being responsible only for the revenue of the zamindari, talook, or otherwise named district, of which he was certainly the fiscal head. Whether he was anything more than this, whether he was regarded by the people as the proprietor, in any degree, of the zamindari, or whether he himself looked upon the land of the zamindari as belonging to him personally, are questions which, perhaps, cannot now be completely answered. As a matter of fact, the son on the death of his father, usually succeeded to his father's functions, and it was

* Much of the matter in the immediately following paragraphs appeared in a paper which was read at a Meeting of the Social Science Association in 1873.

avowedly the principal object of the legislation effected in 1793 to turn all these persons into hereditary landed-proprietors, whether they were so before or not. Under the Permanent Settlement an engagement was entered into by the Government with each existing zamindar, by the terms of which, on the one hand, the zamindar became bound to pay a certain *jamma*, or fixed amount of money, assessed upon his zamindary as land revenue; and, on the other, the Government recognized him as hereditary proprietor of the land, and undertook never to alter his *jamma*. At the same time the Government required the zamindar to respect the rights of the cultivator of the soil.

The results of this new arrangement will be pursued presently. For the moment it may be asserted positively that the zamindar never did before the Permanent Settlement (and that he does not to this day) stand towards the ryot in the position which the English landlord occupies relative to his tenant. The area of his zamindary covered large districts of country, and was reckoned not in *biggahs* (the unit of land measure, one-third of an acre) but in communities of men *mouzas*. The money proceeds of the zamindary were not spoken of as rent, but as the *jammās* (collections) of the included villages. The assets of a zamindary made up of the *jammās* of sub-tenures, and the collections of the villages, scarcely, if at all, resembled the rental of an English estate. The zamindar himself was a superior lord enjoying personal privileges, and, through officers, exercising some powers of local administration. The populations of the villages in his zamindary were his subjects (ryots), and it is not until you get within the *mouzah* itself that you find any one concerned with the actual land. Some comparison might be made between the feudal lord, his vassals, serfs, demesne lands and the customs of the manor on the one side, and the zamindar, his *gantidars*, ryots, zeract land and customs of the village on the other; but how little the two cases of zamindar and landlord ever have been parallel may be perceived at once from a simple illustration. When an English landed proprietor speaks of a *fine estate*, he mentally refers to the extent of the acreage, the fertility of the soil, the beauty of the landscape, and so on; not at all to the tenants, the labourers, or the dwelling-houses, which may be upon the land; whereas, if a Bengali zamindar makes a like remark, he has in his mind the number and importance of the villages which form the zamindary and their respective *jammās*, but he takes no thought about the physical character of the land at all.

Whatever was the true nature of the right by virtue of which the zamindar exercised his functions and enjoyed his privileges, he made his collections from the zamindary, and administered its affairs by means of an organization very simple and enduring

in its character. It had its root in the village, and no doubt remains the same now in all essential particulars as it was many centuries ago. Probably, in the beginning, the village community itself managed the matter of the allotment of land, and the distribution among its members, of the liability to pay the zamindar's dues. But in Bengal, long before the English came to the country, the zamindar had got into his hands so much, even of that business, as had not been consolidated and stereotyped by custom. The zamindar's village *kachahri* has been already described, or rather spoken of. It was an office (as it would be called in England) in each *mouzah*, with a head man, accountant, and a field officer. The business of these men, as has before been said, was to keep a close eye on the ryots, to register in minute detail the subject of each man's occupation, the payments and cesses due from him according to shifting circumstances, and from time to time to collect the monies so due. The system of zamindary accounts, which these duties entailed, has been commented upon in the passage where the zamindar's position in the village was referred to. The *kachahris* of every five or six *mouzahs*, according to their size, were supervised by a superior officer (say a *tehsildar*) who had his own *kachahri*, with its books and papers, either duplicates of, or made up from those of, the *mouzah kachahris*. The collections effected by the officers of the village *kachahris* were handed over to him, and he passed them to a next higher officer.

In this manner the monies at last arrived at the zamindar's own *kachahri*; out of them he paid the Government revenue which was due from his zamindary, and he kept the rest for himself.

Zamindari in different parts of the country differed very much from each other in their extent and in their circumstances. No one description could be given which should be true of them all. But the foregoing may fairly be taken to represent the type of the general system.

It is apparent, almost at first sight, that the system, though simple and complete, had a natural tendency to disintegrate. Each middleman was the apex and head of a structure precisely like the principal structure in form and constitution, with this difference only, that it had a smaller basis. A slight disturbing force might serve either to detach it and so leave it standing by itself, or put it into an appendant condition.

In the event, for instance, of the Government finding difficulty in obtaining all the money which it required, it might go direct to a middleman who was willing to make terms for his quota, and so might be originated an example of a constituent portion of a zamindary being converted into a *mahul* paying revenue

directly to Government. Also the zamindar himself, for motives arising from relationship, or from pecuniary or other obligation, might allow a middleman to retain and enjoy an exceptionally large proportion of the collections for his own benefit, might, in fact, leave to him the collections which centered in his hands, and be satisfied with the receipt from him of a *jamma* only. Thus would arise a dependant *mahal* paying a *jamma* to the zamindar which might be considered as part of the zamindari assets, or as revenue due to Government, but not payable directly. Again, some zamindari, no doubt, as Mr. Hunter well describes in his "Orissa," lost their coherence actually at head-quarters by reason of the head officials dividing the office management and care of the district between themselves, and so in the end coming to be recognized as the responsible heads of divisions.

In these various and other like ways, long before the date when the period of English legislation commenced, the original simplicity of the zamindari system had been lost; there were zamindari and talooks of several orders and designations paying revenue directly to Government; within these were subordinate talooks and tenures converted from the condition of being parts of a homogeneous collecting machine into semi-independence, and paying a recognized *jamma* only to the superior *kachahri* instead of sending on to it their respective collections.

The practice of commuting collections, or allowing them to drop into *jammās*, was obviously so convenient and advantageous to the parties chiefly concerned that it was certain to grow and prevail in inverse proportion to the power or opportunities of the immediate superior or principal to insist upon an account. So that every subordinate *jamma*-paying *mahal* or tenure, when established, speedily became a miniature zamindari, in which certain *jammās* were taken in lieu of collections, and the remaining collections were made by the old machinery. Waste land grants or concessions were also the origin of talooks, both dependent and independent, and so, too, *jāgir* grants for services.

Within the village itself an analogous process, for much the same reason, came into operation with regard to the occupation of the land. The principal persons of the zamindari *amla*, and the headmen of the ryots (*mandals*) or others of influence, and privileged persons, as Brahmins often got recognized as holding upon fixed and favourable terms larger portions of the village lands than they could or did cultivate. These, of course, they sub-let, either wholly or in part, and so arose varieties of *jotes* and ryottee-tenures.

And before the legislation of 1793, the middle tenures, such as they then existed, depended for their maintenance upon usage and the personal power and influence of the holder; the ryottee

tenures and *jots* were regulated by usage also, and by the arbitrament of the village *panchayet* and the zamindary *amla*. Sir H. Maine has pointed out (Village Communities, Section 3), the true nature of customary law, upon the footing of which such a system as this works, and has shown that it does not involve the idea of a personal proprietary right. Indeed, it was the absence of this element of proprietary right which caused so much embarrassment and difficulty to the first English inquirers into this subject. They could not readily comprehend a land system in which no one seemed to possess an absolute proprietary right to the soil. Still less, if possible, could they understand how the due relation of the different parts of the system could be legitimately maintained without express positive law. The ills and the confusing irregularities which were the results of somewhat rude attrition between feudal power and customary local authority, were only too apparent, and the first Indian politico-economists sought to remove them by simply making the (as they supposed) already existing personal rights of property more definite, and providing facilities for their enforcement by the arm of the law.

With substantially this view the legislators of 1793 performed their task, and in order that no extensive disturbing force should remain, they took care that the amount of the Government claim upon the zamindar should be fixed in perpetuity. The authors of the Permanent Settlement thought that they had thus freed the subject of property in land from incrustations which were merely the growth of a lawless time, and reduced it to its pristine proportions; and they expected that the English arrangement of landlord and tenant, with all its simplicity and advantages, would assert itself at once.

But in truth, nothing in the world was less likely to happen than this. It could not happen until the zamindar, or tenureholder, came to look upon himself as the owner of the soil, personally interested in, and responsible for, its physical condition; until the cultivator ceased to regard himself as ryot, and acknowledged that he was only a contracting party. These contingencies are just as remote now as ever, and the agricultural system of Bengal consequently still presents us with the zamindar and ryot, not with landlord and tenant.

Nevertheless, a very important change was brought about by the legislation of 1793. The legislature then, for the first time, declared that the property in the soil was vested in the zamindars, and that they might alien or burden that property at their pleasure without the previously-obtained sanction of Government; and the moment this declaration was made, obviously all subordinate tenures and holdings, of whatever sort, became also personal proprietary rights in the land of greater or lesser degree, possessing

each within itself, also in greater or lesser degree, powers of multiplication. When the zamindar's right had become in a certain sense an absolute right to the soil—not exclusive, because the legislature at the same time recognized rights on the side of the ryot—with complete powers of alienation, the rights of all subordinate holders were necessarily derivative therefrom; and the ascertainment, definition, and enforcement of them immediately fell within the province of the public Courts of Justice. Sir H. Maine writes (*Village Com.*, p. 73)—“If I had to state what for the moment is the greatest change which has come over the people of India, and the change which has added most seriously to the difficulty of governing them, I should say it was the growth on all sides of the sense of individual legal rights—of a right not vested in the total group, but in the particular member of it aggrieved, who has become conscious that he may call in the arm of the State to force his neighbors to obey the ascertained rule.” This change was deliberately and designedly made by the legislature, as regards the zamindar, but no one at the time perceived—and very few persons since have recognized—that it also involved a like change with regard to every one, from zamindar to ryot, who had practically in any degree a beneficial interest in the land system. Even now it is not uncommon to hear fall from well-informed persons, expressions of regret that the forum of the *mandals* and the zamindar's *amla* should be forsaken so much as it is for the *kachuhri* of the Deputy Magistrate or of the Moonsiff. And yet this result seems on reflection to be the inevitable consequence of the change effected in 1793. The first menace to any member of the land system necessarily brought him into court to have his legal position authoritatively ascertained and asserted; and nowhere else could he afterwards go to have his proprietary right maintained.

A further most important consequence bearing a double aspect followed the change. When all intermediate (even to the very lowest) interests became rights of property in land, not only could the owner of any such interest carve it as a subject of property into other interests, by encumbering or alienating within the limits of the right; but even his ownership itself might be of that complex heterogeneous kind, which is seen in Hindu joint-parcellary, and of which some examples have been given above.

Let us look more nearly at the first side of this proposition. Remembering that a middle tenure or interest below the revenue-paying zamindar resembles the primary zamindari, and is essentially the right, on payment of the proper *jumma* to a superior holder, to make collections from the cultivators of land and to take the *jummas* from subordinate holders within a specified

area, we see that as soon as the tenure is converted into a proprietary right, there must almost necessarily be a constant tendency to the creation of minor tenures. The owner of the smallest and lowest tenure is severed from the land itself by the customary occupation of the ryots and ryottee-tenures, if there are any; indeed, the ryot holdings contain more of that which goes to constitute the English idea of land property than do the middle tenures, although it is not always easy to draw the line which separates the two. The middle tenure of every degree is thus in a great measure an account-book matter, and is very completely represented by the *jummabandi* paper. If the owner of such a property desires to benefit a child or a family connection, he can do so by making him a *mokarari* grant in some form of a portion of his collections. It would be no easy matter to describe fully the various shapes which such a grant is capable of taking. It may cover a part of a village only, or a whole village, or many villages (according to the circumstances of the grantor and the transaction), and may convey the right to take the rents, dues and *jamas* within that area by entireties; or it may convey the right to take a fractional part only of them; or, again, it may convey the entireties for some villages and fractional parts for others, and so on. Most frequently the tenure of the grantor himself amounts only to a right to a fractional share of the rents, &c., and then his grant will pass a fraction of a fraction. But not only may a tenure-holder make a grant of this nature to some one whom he desires to benefit, he may do the like to a stranger in consideration of a bonus or premium. Again, he may do so with the view to ensure to himself, in the shape of the rent reserved on the subject of grant, the regular receipt of money, wherewith to pay his own *jamma*. Or he may, by way of affording security for the re-payment of a loan of money made to him, temporarily assign to the lender under a *zar-i-peshgi ticca* his tenure-right of making collections. In these or similar modes, the Bengali tenure-holder, landed proprietor, or zamindar (however he may be designated) is obliged to deal with his interest when he wants to raise money, or to confer a benefit, and it is obvious that in each instance (excepting that of out-and-out-sale of the entirety of his interest, to which he rarely has recourse, if he can avoid it,) he creates a fresh set of proprietary rights.

And if we turn now to the second aspect of the case, we find it is the rule, all but universal, in Bengal that every subject of property including, of course, a middle tenure or right of any kind in the land system just described, is owned not by an individual, but by a more or less numerous group of persons jointly, each member of the group being entitled to his own share in the subject of ownership, and such share being capable of existing in any one of

various, more or less, complete states of separation, or division, from the rest. Thus, returning to an instance just now given, suppose a fractional, say, $9\frac{1}{2}$ -annas share of a village (the whole being considered as 16-anna), or of any number of villages to be the subject of a *mokarari* tenure. This may be the case in three or four different ways. It may mean that the tenure-holder has a *mokarari* right given him to the rents and dues arising out of a specified portion of the area of the village which is separated from the rest by metes and bounds; and bears to the entirety the proportion of $9\frac{1}{2}$ to 16. Or it may mean that he has the right to collect separately by his own *amla* from the ryots throughout the entirety of the village $9\frac{1}{2}$ -anna out of each rupee of rent. Or, again, it may mean that in certain parts of the area covered by the grant he has a sole right to the rents, and in other parts to a fractional portion only, so arranged that in the whole he gets $9\frac{1}{2}$ out of 16 annas of the entire profits of the area. And it may further be, as it usually is, that it is incidental to his right to collect the share of rents, &c., due to him in respect of the tenure by his own officers at his own *kachahri*; though it may also be that he has only the right to draw his fractional share of the net collections which have been made at a joint *kachahri* belonging, so to speak, to several shareholders. But, in whatever way this *mokarari* tenure of $9\frac{1}{2}$ -anna of property is to be possessed and enjoyed, the owner of it is usually a joint-family, or a group of persons representing an original joint-family; and all the members of the group have each his own share in the tenure, which, although existing in a state undivided from the rest, is capable of being assigned to a purchaser separately from them. Also, very often, each member of the group can, as between himself and his shareholders, insist upon having an actual partition of the subject of tenure. When this is done he becomes by himself separately entitled to a fraction, say, of the supposed $9\frac{1}{2}$ -anna tenure. For illustration's sake let us take the fraction to be one-sixth; then his separate share of the rents and profits accruing from the area which is covered by the tenure, subject, of course, to the payment of the superior rent or *jamma*, is one-sixth of $9\frac{1}{2}$ annas, i.e., 1 anna 9 pie. In this way it happens that even the village (or *mouzah*) the unit, in terms of which the zemindary may be said to be calculated, comes to be divided into small portions; and the rent-receiver, who stands to a particular ryot in the position of zamindar, may be, and often is, a very small man indeed. Adhering to the instance already given, we may say that the ryot may have to pay the whole of his rent to the *patwari* of the one anna seven pie shareholder, or to pay one anna seven pie out of sixteen annas of his rent to him; and the remainder to the other shareholders separately, or in groups, or he may only have to pay the entirety of his rent to

the joint *kachakri*, from which each shareholder will get his share on division.

This system of sub-infeudation and sub-division of joint-interests, accompanied by severalty of right, prevails universally throughout Bengal. One result of this is a condition of complexity of landed interests which is probably without a parallel elsewhere. And a still more serious consequence is, that the so-called owner of the land has the least possible motive for doing anything to benefit it. It will be seen that the rent paid by the cultivator for the use of the soil does not go to one person bearing the character of an English landlord, but is distributed among a series of owners, namely, the middle tenure-holders with the revenue-paying zamindar at their head, each independent of the others, and each, probably, consisting of several persons with independent rights among themselves. Why should one shareholder out of this lot advance money for improvement, the advantage of which, if any, will be shared in by many others over whom he has no control or influence, to a greater extent than by himself? Furthermore, under this system, the locally-resident zamindars are very generally small shareholders of subordinate tenures, whose means are not greatly superior to those of the well-to-do ryots, and who cannot be possessed of any amount of education or culture.

So much for the situation and circumstances of the rent-receivers; that of the rent-payers, *i.e.*, of the cultivators of the soil, deserves some notice. The lands of a village may be broadly distinguished into two sets, namely, the ryottee lands, on the one hand, and the zamindar's *ziraat*, *khamar*, *nij-jote*, or *sir-lands*, or whatever they may be termed, on the other. The ryottee lands constitute the bulk of the village area. They are in a certain sense emphatically village lands; the right to occupy and cultivate the soil thereof rests upon a basis of custom, and is in no degree derived from the zamindar. Sometimes the resident ryots of the village have a preferential claim, more or less openly acknowledged, to any portion of them which may for any cause have become vacant. In others, the zamindar is practically unfettered in the selection of a new occupant. But in all cases alike the occupier's interest is looked upon as bottomed on something quite independent of the zamindar. In Bengal, it is commonly termed the ryot's *jote*. Even when the actual possession of a plot of land comes, as it may come, into the hands of the zamindar himself, by reason of abandonment by the ryot, it is more than doubtful whether the *jote* interest disappears, or its character changes. In short, on the ryottee lands the occupying ryot holds his *jote*, *i.e.*, occupies the soil by a customary right to which he has personally succeeded, either by inheritance from an ancestor, or by transfer from a predecessor, or by admission through the zamindar. He

may sub-let; but it seems that, if he does so, his lessees never get any better position than that of being his tenants, deriving everything from him and going out of possession with him whenever he goes. This right to occupy and till the land may be of several kinds: it may be personal only, or may be inheritable, or it may by custom involve, as incident to it, a power of alienation, or again the zamindar may, if he chuses, create in favour of a ryot a perpetual inheritable right of occupation with power of alienation. By legislative enactment, actual occupation of the same land for a period of twelve years confers upon the ryot (if he has it not otherwise) a personal right of occupation on payment of a fair and reasonable rent; and occupation for twenty years at a uniform rate of rent generally has the effect of conferring a right of occupation at that rate. A very large number of ryots in Bengal have in one way or another acquired permanent rights of occupancy in the land which they cultivate, but the remainder a large number merely occupy on payment of the rents and dues which have usually been paid to the zamindar's *kachahri* in respect of their land. These are commonly much less in rate than rents paid by agricultural tenants in England. Theoretically, the zamindar is entitled to ask what he thinks fit before the commencement of every year, and, perhaps, turn this class of ryot out, if he does not agree to the demand; but the zamindar seldom does so.

On *zeraut*, *klaman*, *nij-jote*, or *sir-lands*, in contradistinction to ryottee lands, the zamindar may cultivate the soil on his own account, if he chuses, or put in cultivators on any terms which they may agree to accept. In truth, there the cultivators are tenants, and the zamindar is their landlord in the ordinary English sense of the word. The ownership of the zamindar is unqualified by the right of any one else to the use of the soil.

In the conception of the agricultural community, the distinction between the two classes of land is substantially this, namely, in the ryottee lands, the use of the soil belongs to the ryots; in the other, the zamindar may regulate and dispose of it as he likes.

In an early part of this description it was mentioned that the holdings of the village ryots were commonly very small. In some parts of the country, however, *jotes* or ryottee interests in considerable tracts of unreclaimed jungle, or otherwise waste land, have at times been granted, of a perpetual character, upon insignificant rents. The land, which is the subject of these grants, has afterwards come to be sub-let to cultivators. Under circumstances such as these, it seems almost impossible to distinguish between the *jote-dar* and an ordinary middle tenure-holder.

VII.—WAYS AND MEANS.

In the foregoing pages an attempt has been made to describe a type specimen of a Bengali village, and the principal conditions of

the life led by its inhabitants. By imagining the specimen sufficiently multiplied, an approximately correct idea of the entire province, or at any rate of the deltaic portion of it, may be reached. We should thus have before us a very large area of exceedingly fertile agricultural country, covered by a dense population and possessing most imperfect means of intercommunication between its parts; the whole divided up into petty communities, each of which in the ordinary course of things may, as a rule, be said to be self-sustaining, and to manage its own affairs without much thought of an external force. There is, at the same time, throughout the population an all-pervading consciousness of a great superior power which may at any time become specially active, and which is remorseless when it interferes, or is invoked through its courts, in matters relating to revenue or land.

The imperfection of the means of intercommunication between village and village, and between one portion of a rural district and another, is sometimes laid as an inexcusable fault at the doors of the English administrators of this country. But it is not really so; although, no doubt, the Government might with proper diligence have done more in this matter during the last seventy years than it has. The magnitude of the task of creating a sufficiency of roads in Bengal, according to an English standard of requirement, may be conceived by imagining the whole of England, except the neighbourhood of large towns, entirely without roads other than two or three trunk lines, and a few unmetalled "hundred lanes" in the different manors, coupled with an absence of desire on the part of the people for any thing better. What could the efforts of the executive Government do in a case like this?

And in order to make this picture approach a Bengal reality, it must be added that there is not a stone, or any thing harder than clay, to be found in the soil of the delta; and that the floods of the rainy season break down, and sometimes almost obliterate such roadways as have not been expensively constructed by skilled engineers.

To create in deltaic Bengal such a net work of permanent roads as an Englishman expects to find in a civilised country would be entirely beyond the strength of any Government whatever. Any considerable advance in this matter can only proceed from the exertions of the landholders and the cultivators themselves; and as long as the complexity of tenures, which has already been pointed out, and the condition of the people remains substantially that which it is at present, it will be useless to look for any effort of the kind.

And, indeed, the ordinary needs of the people in this respect are met by the existing state of things. The vehicles in use for the

carriage of goods are boats, the heads of men and women, little tiny bullocks, and bamboo carts of every rude construction; and if well-to-do folks travel, they are carried in palkis and doolies or go by boat. In the dry season the men, the bullocks, and the carts can and do go almost anywhere. And the local traffic, such as it is, usually takes place in detail of very small quantities. The *dana* or other seed is trodden out* by the bullocks at the *khalian* almost on the plot where it is grown; and both the grain and the straw are very easily carried to the homestead on the heads of the various members of the ryot's family. The surplus produce, if any, of the ryot which does not go to his *mahajan* passes in little items to the nearer *hāts* and so becomes diffused over the neighbouring *mouzahs*, or is carried on further to the larger *hāts*, the *mahajan* and the *modi* affording the only village depôts. The larger *hāts* again, or local centers of produce trade, are commonly situated on roads or *khals*. The produce trader here, by his agents, gathers in the result of his scattered purchases, and sends it away in carts or boats; and thus the outflow takes place very evenly, without the thought having occurred to any one, probably, that the means of carriage admitted of improvement.

It is often said on occasions of scarcity or famine that the stream will not reverse itself when necessary. But this appears to be erroneous. Manchester piece-goods find their way regularly by these very same channels to the remotest Bengal village. In some districts, too, there is in the normal state of things an actual importation and distribution of grain in this way every year to a considerable extent, and there cannot be the least serious doubt that, as long as the ryots are able to pay the requisite retail price, the village *mahajans* and *modis* will succeed in keeping up their stocks, whatever the local deficiency of crop. It usually happens, unquestionably, when a season of scarcity is seen to be closely approaching, that both the *mahajans* and *modis* are inactive. They know very accurately the extent of their clients' and customers' means. The *mahajans*, although he does not, as some think, hold back for starvation prices the stock which is actually in his *golas*, naturally enough declines to increase that stock at great cost to himself, when his clients are already hopelessly involved in debt to him; and the village *modi* for like reason will not and cannot lay in a stock at abnormal prices to retail it to those who cannot pay for what they purchase.

This state of things would be completely changed if neither the

* In some districts, as in Chota Nagpore, a rude hand-flail is used for thrashing grain.

mahajan nor the village dealer had reason to doubt the ability of the ryot to pay a remunerating price for imported food. Grain would then come in by the routes, through which it ordinarily flows out, smoothly and imperceptibly in obedience to the attractive force of price; and probably no one but a most attentive observer would be aware that anything extraordinary was taking place. It is the occurrence of pauperism in the ryots when a certain price of food stuffs is reached, which throws the ordinary machinery out of gear; and it seems to be obvious that this would be remedied, if by any external means the purchasing power were maintained to them.

It is not the purpose of these pages to discuss a question of political economy. But it may here be added that in times of scarcity the action of Government does not always appear to have been directed immediately to this object. The institution of relief, works on a large scale, where great numbers of people, drawn from their homes, are massed together within limited areas, and the transportation of grain in considerable quantities from the outside to certain local centers, for the support of those engaged on these works and for distribution so far as practicable by the hands of local committees in the pauperized districts, are the principal measures adopted by Government in emergencies of this sort. Whatever may be the amount of the relief which can in this way be afforded (and no doubt it is often considerable), inasmuch as it is independent of the natural channels of supply which have just been described, it might appear at first sight to be an unqualified gain to the distressed people; but, unfortunately, it is not so. Apart from the disturbance of social and economical relations, which is effected by large labour undertakings of temporary duration, the preparations, which Government has to make for unusual work, themselves very greatly hinder ordinary traffic in rural lines of route; boats and carts, &c., have to be collected—even impressed—in all directions and become locked up, so to speak, for days and weeks before they are actually wanted, in order that they may be certainly ready when needed. And thus, not only while Government is importing, but also long before it commences to do so, private enterprise is left almost without a vehicle.

Moreover, the Government method of proceeding, by drawing away as many persons as possible from their homes (and those the able-bodied rather than the infirm), as well as by supplying grain, directly tends to remove the pressure upon the village *mahajans* and *modis*, and to make the market which they supply even more uncertain, and less to be counted upon than it was before. And it probably may, with strict accuracy, be concluded that as soon as Government announces its anticipation of a famine

and its intention to take extraordinary measures of prevention, all natural effort at the village end of the system ceases.

Some of the wealthy zamindars, however, here and there, do much to furnish an artificial substitute very nearly resembling it in effect by causing their local *amla* to lay in stores for the benefit of their ryots; and this wholesome action is capable of being most extensively applied. The village *panchayat*, suggested in an earlier page as a means of effecting an equitable local taxation, would appear to be also an instrument which might be employed for the direct stimulation of the ordinary machinery of supply.

But as yet, unfortunately, this side of the great problem, which the occurrence of a period of scarcity forces upon the Government, has remained practically untouched; and those who urge its special importance are not uncommonly regarded by the public as ill-informed theorists.

VIII.—CONCLUSION.

A closing section may, perhaps, not be inaptly devoted to explaining somewhat of the early history of the village and the peculiar position which it still holds in the political economy of India.

England, France, and most other European countries are occupied each by a population which, throughout large assignable areas, or districts, is approximately uniform in the matter of language, national associations, and general habits of life. The case in India is not so. Although, in a certain rough sense, it is correct to say that the inhabitants of the Panjáb are Panjábis, of Bengal are Bengalis, of Orissa are Uriyas, and so on, yet the people who constitute the population of these provinces (some of them larger in extent than European countries) are very far from being homogeneous. They are composed of several races or race castes, some of which are spread over very considerable tracts, in no way limited by the provincial boundaries. And the manner in which the intermixture of these races takes place, elsewhere than in large towns, is in a great measure by villages. The village and its lands is throughout India the one unit down to which nearly all economical and many social phenomena may be resolved; and amongst other phenomena it is by villages that the various peoples are found to be arranged and distributed over the country.

The varieties of the people, estimated by the hereditary distinctions of race, tribe, and caste referred to, are almost innumerable; and the discrimination of them is founded upon many independent elements, such as tradition, habits, customs, and religion, language and physical appearances.

The exceeding value of language in an inquiry of this kind is now generally very well understood; but for the sake of clearness the mode in which it is made use of may be shortly indicated

Very many languages may branch out and grow up from one original language as from a root, a fact as we all know, of which we have ample illustration very manifest in Europe; for Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese have unquestionably sprung from Latin; and English, Dutch, Danish, German have also plainly risen from a common source. Each individual language, too, grows and alters with time, especially before it arrives at the stage in which a popular literature comes to prevail: thus in England the language of Chaucer is very different from that of Shakespeare, and the language of the so-called Anglo-Saxon period greatly different from either. The study and comparison of all available languages—both dead and living—by those who have devoted themselves to this gigantic task, has led to the discovery that this ramification and development of languages is not an arbitrary bit of chance work, but is part of man's natural history; and that its facts, bound together by the principles and laws apparent in them, constitute a natural science of the highest possible interest. Connection between languages has in this way come to be viewed as affording very strong indication of a corresponding connection between the people who speak them.

One of the broad results of the science is that all the known languages of Europe and Asia group themselves into three families, which appear at present to be almost entirely independent of each other, namely, the Indo-European family, markedly divided into its Indian, Iranian and European members, the Turanian family, and the Semitic family.* And it seems to be a fact of great significance as bearing on the topic of this section, that the different peoples who speak the languages of the Indo-European family, spread as they are over an enormous area, are, as a whole, very perceptibly distinguished by features of countenance from the peoples who speak the Turanian languages. If the photograph of a Hindi-speaking inhabitant of the North-West Provinces be compared with that of an Englishman, it is almost impossible from the face alone to discover the difference of nationality; but if the like experiment be tried with a Kolh or a Tamulian, it is probable that the broad nostril and thick lips will betray the Turanian extraction. The families of the languages and the families of the people belonging to them appear to be correspondingly distinct. Also the geographical distribution of the people who speak the various languages of the groups just mentioned presents us with an equally significant set of facts. We find that of the Indo-European family those peoples who speak the languages of the European member, or branch, cover Europe and the parts of Asia

* The principal languages of these different families are conveniently exhibited in their respective relations by Professor Monier Williams in the Preface to his Sanscrit Dictionary.

which are west of the Caspian Sea; those who speak the languages of the Iranian branch lie in a tract south of the Caspian, and those who speak the languages of the Indian branch inhabit Peshawur and the neighbouring country, the valley of the Indus, the valley and delta of the Ganges, the table-land of Central India in the angle between the two, the valley of the Brahmaputra and some tongues of territory running out from this ganglion, as for instance Orissa. On the other hand, just over the borders of this irregular area in India on the south, on the east, and even on the north, are Turanian and, perhaps, other peoples who may, for want of a better general designation, be called aborigines, closely pressing up against, and following the indentations of, the boundary line. The accepted theory, by which the foregoing facts of distribution and many others interwoven with them are accounted for, supposes that all the peoples who speak the Indo-European languages come from one stock, which is now usually called the Aryan* race, and the cradle of which was Bactria or some tract in the neighbourhood, and on the east side, of the Caspian Sea. That from this site two main streams flowed out, one north-westwards into Europe, going ultimately to form the various nations and sub-races of the European branch, and the other south-westwards bifurcating so as to give rise to the Iranian people in the south and the Indian peoples in the east. The latter division at several different times poured into India at the north-west corner, and from thence wave after wave spread down the Indus and the Ganges, and up the Assam valley, and overflowed southwards as far as it could over the table-land of central and peninsular India, meeting with and displacing (sometimes only partially) relatively aboriginal peoples of the Turanian family and of dark complexion.

By a process of this kind the resulting population of the invaded country would naturally come to be the more purely Aryan in the neighbourhood of the place of entrance, and would manifest a gradual shading off of the Aryan type as one pursued the course of advance to its furthest extreme. And this is exactly the phenomenon which may be observed in Northern India. Cabul and the Punjab afford everywhere the finest possible examples of the Aryan type, but at a glance the ordinary Bengali of the Delta or the Uriya is perceived to be of a mixed origin. The lips, the nose, and the cheekbones betray a foreign ingredient, Turanian or aboriginal, in character; and above all the darkened tint of the

*The Sanscrit writers designated their own superior race "Arya." With them also "Dasya," or "Dasa" was the antithesis of Arya, and seems to have been used as the designation

of aborigines or inferior races which the Aryans encountered in India; though Manu refers to Dasyas of speech.

skin shows the infiltration from without of a very strong colouring material: the Cabuli is almost as fair as an Englishman, while the lower caste Bengali very nearly approaches the Negro in darkness.

The first considerable inpouring of the Aryans is estimated by the best authorities to have occurred not less than 3,000 years before Christ. Crossing the Indus, they advanced in a south-easterly direction, gradually driving out the dark-complexioned aborigines (Dasyas) and occupying the country in their place with some degree of intermixture. Probably this process was at first slow; but eventually the Aryans, having traversed the district of the Five Rivers, established themselves principally on the banks of the Saraswati, a comparatively small stream which, flowing down from the Himalaya on the north, crosses the plain between the Jumna and the Sutlej, and makes its way to the latter or loses itself in a desert. Here they became a nation and the nursery of that remarkable form of civilization which may with propriety be termed Sanscrit civilization, and which serves even at the present day to mark off the Hindu peoples from the rest of the world. The low watershed which divides the Gangetic tributaries from those of the Indus is still regarded as the Holy Land of India *

We have no written annals from which we can trace out an authentic history of this people in their adopted country, or learn with certainty the mode in which they effected the work of colonization. But there seems to be good ground for supposing that the immigrants must have established themselves by household groups, each taking and occupying a more or less specifically assigned area, largely in excess of its immediate wants. We can imagine that the head of the family was the head of the village so planted, and that outsiders were only allowed to settle within its boundaries, if at all, upon terms of subjection. It is not improbable that at first the connection between villages was very loose. Probably those which were the more nearly allied to each other by ties of relation ship, when necessary, sent their young men to fight in their common defence under an acknowledged leader or chief, and supplied the commissariat in kind. From this loose organization for military purposes would grow up almost insensibly a civilization, under which a supreme power, both military and

* Dr. Muir in Sanscrit Texts, vol. II, p. 397, remarks: "It would appear that the narrow tract called Barhmavartta between the Saraswati and Drishwati, alluded to in the classical passage of Manu, must have been for a considerable period the seat of some of the most distinguished Indian priests and sages;

"that there the Brahmanical institutions must have been developed and matured, and perhaps the collection of the Vedic hymns completed, and the canon closed. It is not easy to account in any other way for the sacred character attached to this small tract of country."

civil, would come to reside in the hands of the successful leader or Rajah, and the heads of the villages would be subordinate to him and his officers. At any rate, these suppositions answer very closely to the earliest descriptions which we find in the Hindu writings. Although there is no history of the ancient Aryans, which can be depended upon, yet we have a great body of literature, theological, philosophical, and juridical, of great value, which has come down to us from them. The earliest of the books are the Vedas (probably the oldest human writings extant in the world), with their Brahmanas and their Sutras, and these are followed by the Epics and Puranas. The four Vedas are the holy Scriptures of the Hindus, and believed by them to be divine revelation, and to be thus distinguished from all other books whatever. It is not necessary to dwell upon their character here.* Professor Max Müller puts the date of the Rig Veda, the first of them, about 1400 B.C., *i.e.*, about 1,600 years after the first immigration of the Aryans into India. But Dr. Haug says it ought to be fixed as early as 2,400 B.C.

Founded on the Vedas and Sutras are the Dharma Shastras or institutes of religion and law, of which the earliest, as we now have it, is the Dharma-Shastra of Manu. And not only is it the oldest, but it is by far the most complete and has come to prevail throughout the whole of Hindu India, as the one governing authority in municipal law. It is supposed to have attained its existing form many centuries before Christ. Sir W. Jones thought it ought to be attributed to the eleventh or twelfth century before Christ, though later scholars consider this estimate to be too large. There is no doubt, however, that the book speaks of, and presents us with data belonging to an early period of Aryan history. And in Manu we find the features of an Aryan village disclosed, answering very closely indeed, so far as they extend, to the description of a Bengal village given in the foregoing pages, with this difference only, that at that time the lands belonged generally, if not universally, to the village community itself, instead of to a landholder or zamindar, as is the case in these modern days. And from the little which Manu tells us relative to the internal administration of the State, we see that it was effected ultimately by villages. The headmen of two or three villages were subordinated to a superior officer; and four or five such officers were under the command of a next higher officer, and so on, until the King's or rather Rajah's cabinet was reached. And each village contributed a certain proportion of its produce and other dues to the support of the Rajah and his officers. Here we have very plainly the principal elements of the zamindary system as

* An excellent popular description of them is given in the first volume of "Chips from a German Workshop."

it remained down almost to the time of English legislation ; and a comparison of pictures of the past which might be drawn from the pages of Manu, with sketches of the present such as that attempted in this article, would, if it were ever made, show how persistent and unchangeable has been the village ingredient since, probably, the time when the Aryans first settled in the region of the Five Rivers.

J.B.P.

ART. VIII.—THE BENGAL POLICE.

IN a former article we sketched briefly the manner in which Act V. of 1861, gradually modified and ultimately wholly transformed, has been worked in Bengal; and we showed why the new system has not come up to the expectations of its founders.

We now propose shortly to consider in what respects, in spite of innumerable difficulties, a decided advance has been made, and what further improvements are most urgently required.

Few Magistrates of the present day have any conception of the mass of corruption which was handed over to the new department on its first introduction. Sir F. Halliday, writing of the Police of his day, says—"Throughout the length and breadth of the land the strong prey almost universally on the weak, and power is but too commonly valued only as it can be turned into money." Another high official writes—"The so-called Police of the Mofussil is little better than a delusion. It is a terror to well-disposed and peaceable people, none whatever to thieves and rogues." And a third writes—"The Police establishment has become the bane and pest of society, the terror of the community, the origin of half the misery and discontent that exist among the subjects of Government; corruption and bribery reign paramount through the whole establishment; violence, torture, and cruelty are their chief instruments for detecting crime, implicating innocence, or extorting money."

To cleanse this Augean stable was the first task of the new Inspector-General of Police and his subordinates. Of the magnitude, of the difficulties and the dangers of this task, only they who bore the brunt of the battle in the first days of the new organisation can form any idea. The old Darogah for years had reigned supreme in his thannah with his small army of burkundazes; the whole *posse* of Amlah, each of whom was wont to receive a graduated scale of fee for every case that came into court, the chupprasees, the very domestic servants,*—all combined to thwart and overthrow, if possible, the new order of things. But, in spite of violent opposition, and in the teeth of innumerable

* It was the usual practice on the conclusion of a heavy case to give a present to the domestic servants of the Sessions Judge or the Magistrate. The writer can never forget his astonishment on driving one morning with the Civil Surgeon to the house of a wealthy Zemindar in Hooghly to find the Sessions Judge's *khan-*

saman, *bearer*, and a crowd of other domestic servants, all sitting in a row in the verandah. On asking the Zemindar what these people were doing there, he replied that a case has just been decided in his favour in the Judge's Court, and these people had come for their usual *bucksheesh*.

difficulties, the new structure grew, and in less than three years it may be said to have been fairly established. But the very rapidity with which the new Force was established brought with it a new danger, which almost threatened at one time to bring about its dissolution. A large proportion of both officers and men were entirely new to their work, and they necessarily committed many blunders, and in their ignorance sometimes illegalities which were too often magnified into grave offences, and punished as such by the Magisterial authorities; nor did the more experienced officers even escape the wide-spread hostility which the introduction of a new system evoked. False charges of every imaginable description were daily brought into Court against Police officers; and it is positively startling to look back at the old records and count in some districts the number of Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors, and Head Constables who were put on their trial for alleged offences without any preliminary enquiry, and afterwards acquitted by their Judges. The prosecution of officers and men especially by Subordinate Magistrates under section 29, Act V., for what was termed neglect of duty, became so frequent that in 1865 Government issued orders prohibiting the trial of Police officers under this section, except with the permission of the District Magistrate or District Superintendent. In one district a European Assistant Superintendent of Police, a young lad, fresh from an English school, of gentle culture, a most inoffensive, straightforward, honest, upright youth, who has since risen to a position of high importance and responsibility under Government, was arrested and thrown into the common jail by the District Magistrate on a ridiculous charge of dacoity.

Looking back now to these years, it seems marvellous that the whole system did not collapse; and there can be no better proof of the energy, the zeal, and the devotedness with which the superior officers to whom the new organisation was entrusted carried out their work, than the fact that in four years they surmounted all these difficulties, and extorted from their bitterest enemies the admission that the new department was a decided success.

The annual reports of Divisional Commissioners and Magistrates for the years 1865 and 1866 concur in representing (except in two or three districts) that the Police were far more efficient than they had ever been before; that crime was much better reported; that there was less oppression of the people; that open and violent crime against person and property had largely diminished; that a much larger number of offenders against the law were convicted; and that the proportion of stolen property recovered had greatly increased. That the new Force was rapidly gaining the confidence of the people was clearly indicated by the numerous applications which were made by the villagers for the establishment of new outposts,

and the strong protests with which any attempts to remove a Police station were met. The main points on which the new Police system had established its superiority cannot be better described than in the words of Mr. Montresor, the able and experienced Commissioner of the Burdwan Division, who thus wrote in 1867: "I have never ceased to think that the new Police, after the first two years of its organisation, is immeasurably superior to the old; the relations with its officers far more intimate and less slavish; it has shewn much more steady and general comprehension of the laws and far more strict obedience to them; and the manner in which its cases are prepared are in respect of legal form incomparably superior. Its officers generally have enforced the abandonment of torture and violence, and one of the best proofs of the good character of the Constabulary is that the Judges of the High Court are steady in defending their honour and rarely comment on their want of skill." Another Commissioner writes—"I have made a point of making close enquiry from those conversant with the subject, as to the working of the Police whenever I am on tour, and the general impression is that there has been a vast improvement during the past two or three years."

In the short space of four years, amid incessant changes, all this substantial progress had been made, and there was every reason to look forward hopefully to the future. All that the new department wanted and asked for was time and rest to enable them to make further advance. "It remains to be seen," wrote the Inspector-General in 1866, "whether or not the reductions have been carried too far; but I would most earnestly deprecate any further changes for some time to come. The new system of Police has been established in Bengal for the last three and a half years, but during the whole of that period there has been one succession of changes,—not a member of the Force, from the highest grade to the lowest, has ever been certain from day to day that he might not be either reduced or discharged. I do hope the Force will now be allowed to acquire a feeling of permanency which it has never hitherto enjoyed." And again in the following year the Inspector-General writes—"If then we have arrived at the above results during the last five years, it is only natural to conclude that we only need time (and if I may be allowed to use a somewhat loose expression) to be "let alone" to render the Police in the country as efficient as it is ever likely to be." But the Police Department was not to be "let alone." The "system" with its Inspector-General and Deputy Inspector-General and departmental organisation was still a thorn in the flesh of many a Bengal Civilian. At the very time Mr. Montresor and others were bearing cordial testimony to the steady progress and good character of the new Force, there were others who could see no good in the new

order of things. The Commissioner of a Division adjoining Mr. Montresor's we find writing thus—"I cannot say that my appreciation of the present system of Police increases with my experience * * I think it involves financially a very great waste of money * * I positively do not know at this moment who is the Deputy Inspector-General who has jurisdiction in my division. I have seen no instance or indication throughout the year of any useful action by this officer, whoever he may be. * * The work of the Inspectors has drifted into something very different, indeed, from what is contemplated and intended in the rules and orders on the subject. * * They (the Inspectors) now inspect stations comparatively seldom. I do not complain of this, for I believe their inspections to be, when they are made, as a rule, absolutely useless. They are now employed almost wholly in investigating crimes. Every crime of the least importance is taken out of the hands of the Sub-Inspector and inquired into by the Inspector. Of course, it is an advantage to have a highly-paid and, presumably, more experienced officer to investigate the more serious crimes. But, on the other hand, the important office of Sub-Inspector is degraded and dwarfed sadly. The Sub-Inspectors, though better paid than the old *Darogahs*, are certainly in every way wholly inferior to them, chiefly I think for the reason above given. Every important case being taken out of their hands, they lose interest, zeal, and self-respect. I believe it would most decidedly benefit the administration if the grade of Inspectors were abolished altogether, the money thereby saved being spent in improving the position of the Sub-Inspectors who would then become Inspectors. The really valuable feature in the system is the well-paid Superintendent in each district. I sincerely wish we had an Assistant Superintendent of the same class in each subdivision. Preserving these officers, I confess that I should not be averse to see the Police, as a separate department, abolished."

We have quoted these remarks at length as they afford a typical example of the class of objections which have frequently been raised by biassed and unthinking persons against the new Police, and we propose to show, in a few words, how very unfounded such objections are as applied to the Police system; but before doing so, it will perhaps be well to sketch very briefly the system under which Police work is supposed to be carried on.

The fundamental basis of the whole Police system was and is, that there should be strict, minute, and incessant supervision in a gradually widening circle over every policeman. The Head Constable was to watch the Constable; the Inspector, the Sub-Inspector; the District Superintendent, the Inspector; the Deputy Inspector-General, the District Superintendent; and the Inspector-General over all. Each Police station is placed in charge of a Sub-

Inspector, who has under him one or two Head Constables and a certain number of Constables. The duty of the Sub-Inspector is to receive and record the first information of all offences occurring within his jurisdiction, to report all cognizable cases at once through the Inspector to the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, and to take immediate steps for the investigation of such offences and for the apprehension of offenders. He has also to keep up certain registers connected with crime,—register of escaped offenders and notorious bad characters, register of property stolen and recovered, register of fines imposed by Magistrates, which he has to collect. He records in a diary (copy of which is sent at the close of each day to the Inspector) a minute account of the doings of himself and his subordinates hour by hour, all miscellaneous reports of any interest which may reach him, the general state of the crops, weather, condition of the people, &c. &c., and all non-cognizable cases which may have been reported at his station.

A circle of five or six stations, which in large districts having sub-divisions is coterminous with the Magisterial sub-division, is placed in charge of an Inspector. He has his head-quarters at the sub-divisional head-quarters, and is or should be in close and daily communication with the Sub-Divisional Magistrate. He should, in fact, as regards Police matters in the sub-division, be the right hand of the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, just as the District Superintendent is the right hand of the District Magistrate in Police affairs throughout the district. He receives the daily report from the Sub-Inspector in charge of stations; he constantly visits the stations under him; he sees that the various registers are properly kept up, fines duly realised, accounts carefully kept; he ascertains from the villagers what the Police have been about, whether there are any complaints of oppression, whether ready assistance is afforded to the people by the Thanna Police; he assists in the investigation of serious cases, and if necessary he can take a case out of the hands of his subordinate and investigate it himself; this is a power, however, which should only be exercised in rare cases. When at the head-quarters of his sub-division, the Inspector closely scrutinizes the station diaries; sees that men are properly apportioned to their different duties; he watches closely the progress and manner of investigation of each case as reported in the special diaries; and he submits daily to the District Superintendent, after showing it to the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, a brief abstract of all occurrences reported in his circle and any matters of general interest which have found entry in the station diaries.

Such was the system laid down by the founders of the new Police Force: it was a scheme in consonance with all the best systems in Europe; it had been already tried and had succeeded admirably in at least one Indian province; and there was no reason why it

should not have succeeded in Bengal, had it only been given free scope and working room. But, as we showed in a former article, the new Police have never had an opportunity of putting the system fairly into practice. Before the new Force had been two years in existence, the administrative power of the Inspector-General and his deputies was withdrawn, and District Magistrates and Commissioners were told that the Police was entirely at their disposal; that the District Superintendent was a mere assistant to the Magistrate, and bound implicitly to obey all his orders; and that Magistrates could administer their Police in whatever fashion seemed to them best. The result is that each Sub-Divisional Magistrate has gradually taken to working the Police according to his own notions. One thinks Inspectors useless and sets them aside altogether; another thinks that Inspectors should investigate every case, and orders them out accordingly on every possible opportunity; a third employs his Inspector chiefly for the investigation of civil cases. There was no occasion for Sir George Campbell to record, "that it is not for Magistrates to assist the Police, but for the Police to assist the Magistrates in every way, to obey their orders, carry out their views, and altogether recognise their positions to be that of assistants to the Magistrates for Police purposes." And that "these duties are not to be strictly limited to the functions which the law requires of them, but that the Magistrate is to be held fully entitled to employ the Police officers to take a census, mend a road, or do anything else for which a trustworthy officer may be usefully employed." All this had been fully recognised and carried out long before Sir George took the reins. All that Police officers ever ventured to hint was that the Subordinate Police were so much employed on miscellaneous duties that the real Police work of the country was in danger of being altogether neglected; but their remonstrances were unheeded, while Commissioners recorded their sentiments in the fashion we have above quoted.

If the Inspectors never visited their stations, and if their visits, when they did visit them, were barren of results—if all their cases were taken out of the hands of the Sub-Inspectors so that they were losing all self-respect and interest in their work—it is very evident that the District Magistrate and the Commissioner himself failed in their duty, for it rested with them, under the Government orders, to remedy so grave an error of administration. But we have searched in vain through the records of the period for the sign of any action on the part of either Commissioner or Magistrate. It will probably surprise our readers to learn that at the very time the Commissioner wrote—"The Sub-Inspectors, though better paid than the old Darogahs, are certainly in every way wholly inferior to them,"—there were in the Districts of this

Commissioner's division 90 Sub-Inspectors, of whom 66 had served in the old Police! Dear old Darogah, the worthy Commissioner did not recognise thee then under thy new title! "*Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur.*"

The allusion to the Deputy Inspector-General is quite in keeping with the other remarks recorded by the Commissioner, a confession of complete ignorance of what that officer was doing, coupled with a bold assertion that he could be doing no good whatever. A similar confession might have been made with the same truth and quite as much to the point with reference to the Superintending Engineers, the Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals, the Inspector of Schools, or the Inspector-General of Jails; and any of these officers might have retorted with equal force that they were in complete ignorance of what use a Commissioner could possibly be.

The whole of the Commissioner's remarks afford a striking example of how easy it is for men to deceive themselves when writing under the influence of strong prejudice.

We suspect that matters were not quite so bad as the Commissioner represented, but such comments coming from men in high places tended strongly to keep alive the old feeling of class jealousy and prejudice, which, if left alone, would have died out; and the consequences of such a feeling were painfully manifest in the sudden outbursts every now and then of violent, hasty, and injudicious proceedings which marked the action of Magistrates, and sometimes of higher authorities, against Police officers. The Government records afford ample evidence of what we have stated. We quote the more prominent cases within our recollection which have been specially brought to the notice of Government, and in all of which the expenses incurred in defence of the Police officers concerned were wholly or in part paid by Government.

1st.—A prostitute who had been arrested on a charge of theft, and afterwards released on bail by the Police, for want of sufficient evidence, accused the Inspector of extortion. He was tried and honorably acquitted and his expenses paid in full by Government.

2nd.—A glaringly false charge of torture was brought against a Sub-Inspector of the ——— District. He was, however, committed to the Sessions, and at once honorably acquitted, a portion of his expenses being paid by Government.

3rd.—A Head Constable of the ——— District, who had been chiefly instrumental in procuring the conviction of a gang of dacoits, was charged three months after the alleged occurrence with having tortured the dacoits to extort a confession. The Deputy Magistrate before whom the charge was laid, after a delay of six months, convicted the Head Constable and sentenced him to two years' rigorous imprisonment. The Sessions Judge quashed the conviction, and ordered the case to be sent up before

himself for trial. The Head Constable was unanimously acquitted by the Jury, and his expenses, amounting to Rs. 219, were paid by Government. The Deputy Magistrate who first tried this case was degraded, and ordered to refund a portion of the expenses incurred in the defence.

4th.—An Inspector of the ——— District, of long-standing and excellent character, was committed to the Sessions on a charge of coercion and getting up false evidence in a murder case which he had investigated. He was honorably acquitted, but the trial cost him Rs. 1,200, of which Rs. 675 were paid by Government. The Sessions Judge, in acquitting the Inspector, commented very severely on the conduct of the Magistrate who had committed him.

5th.—A Sub-Inspector of the ——— District was committed to the High Court by an *Officiating* Calcutta Magistrate on an absurdly false charge of torturing a prisoner to extort confession. So palpably false was the charge that the presiding Judge stopped the trial before the examination-in-chief of the complainant had been finished, and the Standing Counsel, who was prosecuting on behalf of Government, declared in open court that there was not a tittle of evidence to support the charge, and that he could not understand upon what grounds the case had ever been committed. The trial cost the Sub-Inspector Rs. 900, of which the Government allowed him Rs. 500.

In the Annual Report for 1867 we find the Inspector-General of Police bringing specially to notice one instance out of several, in which an Extra Assistant Superintendent was committed by a Joint Magistrate to the Sessions, and there convicted and sentenced to imprisonment and fine, but released, on appeal, by the High Court. The case is thus described by the Inspector-General: "The Extra Assistant was tried before the Sessions Judge of Patna. He was defended by a Barrister of the High Court, and the Joint Magistrate appeared as prosecutor and as the principal witness against the Extra Assistant. The trial lasted for eight days. The Judge in a lengthened charge summed up very strongly against the prisoner."

The Jury acquitted the Extra Assistant of the first or principal charge, and found him guilty of the second and third charges. The Judge sentenced Nobokisto Ghose to one year's rigorous imprisonment, and to pay a fine of Rs. 100.

"The Extra Assistant appealed to the High Court, when two of the Judges, Messrs. Macpherson and Seton-Karr, after reviewing in a lengthened judgment the whole proceedings, not only acquitted the Assistant of every charge, and ordered his immediate release, but commented very severely upon the action of all the parties concerned in the prosecution. The Judges further added that there was not one tittle of evidence against him, that he ought

never even to have been called upon for his defence, and that he had full grounds for the action he had taken.

"Nobokisto Ghose was on the 8th January reinstated in his appointment, and the expenses incurred in his defence have since been returned to him by order of the Government. In the meantime he had suffered nearly three months' rigorous imprisonment."

"I have been obliged," writes the Inspector-General, "to remark upon the particulars of this prosecution somewhat at length; *firstly*, in order to show why the department has failed in Patna to obtain convictions for the serious crime of poisoning, which is well known to be prevalent there, whereas in Monghyr and Bhaugulpore, as will be seen by former reports, and in Lohardugga lately, its action was most successful; and *2ndly*, because I feel that an honest and energetic officer, who has deserved well of the State, has been subjected, under the forms of law, to a most serious injustice."

In the Annual Report for 1868 we again find the Inspector-General writing: "During the year there have been numerous harassing and unnecessary prosecutions of Police officers, which have ended in honourable acquittals. Such cases do much injury to the Force, and cause employment in the Police to be looked upon as most precarious. This prevents many respectable men from joining, who would otherwise willingly join the Force. Only recently it was thought expedient to re-employ an old and trusted officer who had retired on pension. He was offered a post far above that which he formerly held, but he declined accepting it, unless his pension was secured to him *whatever might happen*. He evidently thought that in rejoining the Force he ran considerable risk of being convicted of an offence of which he was innocent and losing a pension which he had gained by long and meritorious service."

We could, if necessary, multiply examples showing the extraordinary mistrust, jealousy, and suspicion which marked the conduct of many of the Magisterial authorities towards the Police; but we have said enough, we trust to show that such feelings were very prevalent, and it is not surprising that under such circumstances all progress was much retarded, and sometimes altogether checked. We now proceed to consider in what respects improvement is most urgently required, and how it can best be effected.

First and foremost, and at the root of all permanent improvement, comes the long vexed question of Village Police. In vain have successive Inspectors-General, Deputy Inspectors-General, and District Superintendents urged year after year the imperative necessity of placing the village chowkidars upon a proper footing; the cry is repeated in every Annual Report from 1862 down to 1874, and we are not one whit better off than we were before the introduction

of the new Force; on the contrary, our position is worse, for the villager has discovered that he is not bound by any law to support a chowkidar, and the chowkidar has discovered that neither the Magistrate nor the District Superintendent has the power either to compel him to serve, or to punish him for neglect of duty, except by dismissal, which, as he frequently gets no pay whatever, is no punishment at all. Before the introduction of the new Police the village chowkidar did get some remuneration; if the villagers failed to pay him, he had only to put in a petition before the Magistrate, who deputed a burkundaz from the thannah to go round with the chowkidar to every house and collect his dues; and they were collected, and often a good deal more. Other Magistrates, less trustful of the tender mercies of their burkundazes, issued standing orders that in the case of a chowkidar's pay falling into arrears the leading villagers were to be arrested and sent into the Magistrate's *cutcherry* where they danced attendance until the chowkidar reported that his claim was settled. Again, if a chowkidar was reported for absence or neglect of duty, a fine was summarily levied from him by order of the Magistrate. No sooner was the new Police introduced, however, than all these proceedings were discovered to be illegal, and ever since the Village Police has been growing daily more useless, if not more vicious.

So far back as 1838, Mr. Halliday recorded in a famous "Police minute"—"In vain we exalt and encourage, and discipline and centralise 8,000 men (the burkundaz Police), while we leave unaltered the organization of one hundred and seventy thousand who are essential as a connecting link with the rest of the system. But between them and the Police paid from the general revenue the chain of subordination is broken, and broken too precisely where the true interests of the Police require thorough continuity."

In 1854 Sir Barnes Peacock recorded—"The custom to maintain watchmen seems to have existed from the earliest times in every village. I cannot think that it could ever have been intended that the maintenance of that class of officers should fall into disuse or be considered as merely optional with those who have always contributed to their support; where lands have been appropriated to their support it should continue to be so. When the watchmen have been paid by contributions from the village community, either in money or grain, such contributions should be considered obligatory." The Police Commission which sat in 1860 framed their propositions in accordance with the above principle. These were:—

1st.—"That in most parts of the Lower Provinces of Bengal zemindars cannot by existing law be compelled to maintain Village Police."

2nd.—“That in Bengal a Village Police does exist, though hitherto scarcely recognised by law and most inefficiently maintained.”

3rd.—“That the only way by which it is possible to secure a proper maintenance of the Village Police is to provide an enactment whereby the Magistrate may be enabled to levy and collect from the village residents the fees and dues they now pay as remuneration for the Village Police they now appoint and entertain; and where maintained by the zemindar, to secure to the Village Police enjoyment of the land assigned to him.”

“That in no case can a new cess or tax be levied from the landholders of Bengal for village purposes, but a law should be passed securing lands already assigned for the purpose, and rendering obligatory the payment of the dues now provided.”

“The Police Commission of 1860 then urged that one of two alternatives must be adopted, *viz.*, that either an enactment should be passed to give a real and vigorous effect to this principle, or else, that the existing watch, which is ineffectual for any public purpose, should be treated merely as private servants, and that the State should look more strictly to the landholder for the punctual discharge of the duties already imposed by law.”

In 1861 Lieutenant-Colonel Bruce, when reporting upon the Police establishments of Bengal, earnestly called attention to the subject and strongly urged upon Government the advisability of resuscitating the fast decaying Village Police. He thus writes: “The most important subject for consideration and action is the present condition of the Village Police in the agricultural districts under the Government of Bengal. I think the fact of this ancient institution having gradually diminished in efficiency since we obtained possession of the country can hardly be controverted until at the present time it stands upon the very verge of collapse. If measures are promptly taken for a wholesome resuscitation of this body, I have no doubt they may yet be placed upon an efficient footing; but prolonged delay may cause, as in parts of the Madras Presidency, all traces to fade away, and then it will be almost impossible to attempt revival.” Upon the strong representation of Colonel Bruce, the Bengal Government called on Mr. Hobhouse, then Legislative Member for Bengal, to submit a report upon the best means of re-organising the Village Police. Mr. Hobhouse submitted his report in 1864, together with a draft Act, to improve the system of Village Police. The Act provided that the appointment, removal, and payment of the Village Police should be vested in the District Superintendent, subject to the general control of the District Magistrate. The monies necessary for the payment of the Village Police were to be collected from the zemindars, sudder farmers, and others paying revenue direct to

Government; or in cases where the village community had by usage maintained their own chowkidar, the money was to be raised from any five headmen of the village selected by the Magistrate.

Mr. Hobhouse's measure had certainly the advantage of simplicity, but it was opposed by a large majority of Commissioners and Magistrates, and fell through altogether.

It is worthy of remark that no two Commissioners give the same reasons for opposing Mr. Hobhouse's Bill, and they all proposed different remedies.

In 1865 a Special Commissioner, Mr. McNeile, was appointed to enquire into, and report upon, the whole question of Village Police. In 1866 Mr. McNeile submitted a most elaborate and exhaustive report on the subject. His proposals were:—

1st.—To abolish entirely the present chowkidarce system which he considered to be beyond improvement.

2nd.—To substitute in its place a paid subordinate constabulary, who were bound to be residents of the circles of villages in which they were employed.

3rd.—To sweep away the whole body of law which imposed on landholders the obligation of reporting crime to the Police and aiding in the arrest of criminals.

4th.—To pay the subordinate constabulary by a tax collected from the proprietors of *sudder mahals*; permission being given these latter to recover the amount as land rent from their under-tenants, who in time would recover from those holding under them down to the lowest step in the ladder.

Mr. McNeile's scheme also was strongly opposed by the great majority of Civilians and by the Inspector-General of Police. "The village watch," wrote Colonel Pugh, "has existed in India from time immemorial. It is bound up with the feelings and customs of the people; it will be very difficult to substitute in its place a system which will equally secure their confidence. The *ryots* generally look upon the chowkidar as one of their own body, who is acquainted with all their affairs, in fact, as a friend and associate in whom they repose confidence. At the same time he is regarded as the representative of official authority in the village, and as one whose duty it is to report crime and apprehend criminals. This system enables the Police to come into close communication with the people, which scarcely any other plan will enable them to do. It is admitted that one of the great difficulties with which the Government in the country has to contend is the absence of the cordial co-operation of the people in the administration of the criminal law, and yet it is now proposed to destroy the only connecting link which at present exists between the official class and the people at large. * * It is proposed to sweep away the whole body of law which imposes upon land-

holders the obligation of reporting crime to the Police and of aiding in the arrest of criminals; but I am strongly of opinion that the obligation of landholders to report crime and to aid in the arrest of criminals should never be curtailed or interfered with, unless it be to make it more stringent. Who has so many means of learning of the commission of crime as the landholder? Who possesses more influence than he does, as regards the prevention of crime and tracing of criminals? And yet he is to reap the advantages of holding property and give no assistance in keeping the peace!"

Mr. McNeile admits "that there is a power established throughout the land with a far firmer root in the minds and habits of the people than the whole authority of the Government; this is the power of the landholders and their local agents, whose reign, silently acquiesced in, extends to every house in every village of the country;" and yet, instead of utilising this power, he would dispense with it altogether! Why should we reject a sure means and positive influence because it is grudgingly given? Why not adopt means that would make it the interest of landholders to afford the aid which they are so capable of affording?

"In my opinion we should endeavour to improve rather than destroy this important institution. To do this we should keep as near as possible to the characteristics of the present village system, which is in accordance with the habits and prejudices of the people."

With this report the question appears to have been dropped, and in 1868 we find the Inspector-General of Police again reporting that "with reference to the organisation of the Village Police, no advance has been made, and this vexed question remains as far as ever from solution."

In 1869 a Commission was appointed, consisting of Messrs. C. H. Campbell, R. Thompson, H. Bell, and Baboo Ishur Chunder Ghosal, for the purpose of framing a Draft Bill for the reform of the Village Police. The Commissioners submitted their report with a Draft Bill in June 1869, and in the following year this Bill, with certain modifications, became Law under the title of Act VI. of 1870. The main provisions of the Bill are—

The District Magistrate is empowered to appoint not less than three, and not more than five, persons to form a *panchayet* in any village containing more than 60 houses, and he is also authorised under certain conditions to make unions of villages.

The *panchayet* is to determine the number of chowkidars to be employed in each village, provided there be two chowkidars to every 150 houses, and one additional chowkidar for every complete number of 100 houses over 180.

The *panchayet* is to fix the monthly salaries of the chowkidars

provided that such salary is not to be less than Rs. 3, nor more than Rs. 6 per mensem.

The *panchayet* is to raise in each village by a yearly assessment the amount required for the pay of chowkidars, the rate to be levied in each village being an assessment according to the circumstances and the property to be protected of the persons liable to assessment, provided that not more than one rupee is to be assessed on any one person, and that all persons who in the opinion of the *panchayet* are too poor to pay half an anna a month are to be exempted altogether.

The *panchayet* is to appoint one of their number to receive and collect the rate which is to be paid by equal monthly instalments.

The chowkidar is to be appointed by the *panchayet* which has also power, with the sanction of the Magistrate, to dismiss the chowkidar.

The District Magistrate is authorised to fine or dismiss any chowkidar. The *panchayet* is obliged to exercise a general control over the chowkidar and every member of the *panchayet*, who becomes cognizant of the commission within the village of certain offences, is bound by law forthwith to cause the same to be reported by the chowkidar to the officer in charge of the Police station, and if the chowkidar fails to report, the member is bound to convey the report himself.

The Bill then goes on to define the duties of chowkidars, which are pretty much the same as they have always been; and here we may observe in passing that in the Draft Bill, and still more pointedly in the Act itself, the old feeling of jealousy of the District Superintendent's power again crops out. The Draft Bill gave the District Superintendent of Police power to dismiss a chowkidar, *provided the sanction had previously been obtained of the District Magistrate*. In other words, the District Superintendent of Police, who under Act V. was invested with full power to suspend, reduce, or dismiss any Police Officer, from Inspector down to a Constable, was not thought fit to be trusted with power which was given to the village *panchayet*. The Act itself ignores the District Superintendent altogether, and gives him practically no authority whatever over the Village Police; while, at the same time, it invests every Deputy Magistrate and every Assistant Magistrate in charge of a Sub-Division with power to fine and dismiss the Village policeman. It would be hard to conceive anything more irrational or illogical under a system of Police, the keystone of which is Act V., 1861. When, however, the Inspector-General of Police ventured to point out this extraordinary inconsistency, the Lieutenant-Governor replied "that District Superintendents were not independent officers but Magistrate's

Assistants for Police purposes, and that no proposal which aimed at divesting the Magistrate of his authority over the rural police, and transferring his authority to the Police Department would be listened to." It is scarcely necessary to say that no such proposal had ever been made by the Inspector-General of Police.

In April 1871, Act VI. was introduced experimentally into the following Districts: Patha, Bhaugulpore, Beerbhoom, Jessore, Rajshahye, Dacca, Chittagong. Up to the end of 1873, except from one district, the reports received of the working of the Act have been most unsatisfactory. In Beerbhoom it was introduced into 19 villages. Within the first year one of the members of a *panchayat* was convicted of embezzlement, and the further extension of the Act in this District was suspended by order of Government. The Commissioner reported that no improvement had taken place in regard to regularity of attendance at Police stations or punctuality of reports; that the chowkidars were the same individuals who held office under the old system; that the Act was most unpopular with the people; and that the situation of the *panchayat* was most unwillingly accepted. In Jessore the introduction of the Act was postponed at the instance of the Commissioner. In Bhaugulpore the Act was introduced into eight villages. The Commissioner reports it to be complicated and is opposed to its further extension, as it cannot be enforced without a *panchayat*, which it is very difficult to obtain as the people are most backward in education and intelligence.

In Chittagong it was introduced into five unions. The Magistrate reports that it cannot be considered a success; that it is not suited to the district, if indeed it is suited to any Bengal District.

In Patna it was introduced experimentally into 26 villages. The result has been far from satisfactory, and both Magistrate and District Superintendent are altogether opposed to the further extension of the Act.

The only district from which a favourable report has been received of the working of the Act is Rajshahye where it has been introduced into 3,176 villages. The Commissioner reports that the result has been very satisfactory, but the Inspector-General of Police writes—"I cannot say that I was favourably impressed when marching through the district last cold season. I took the opportunity of seeing some of the *panchayets* and looking at their accounts. The chowkidars were quite of the old style; they all complain that they were kept in arrears and that they did not receive the pay which was entered in the accounts. In one case an order had been received to attach the property of the *panchayat* as the chowkidars were 12 months in arrears. The members, with the exception of the man who kept the accounts, seemed to know or care little about the matter."

The general opinion then seems to be that Act VI. of 1870 is impracticable, and the old question recurs—what is to be done? For five and thirty years this question has been asked, and we seem to be as far as ever from the solution. All are agreed that the reform of the Village Police is a matter of paramount importance. All agree that the first and most important point is to secure a fixed salary and regularity in the payment of his dues to the village chowkidar. Almost all agree that the *panchayet* with the proverbial inefficiency of “boards” will not work. The great majority, both of Magistrates and Police officers, agree that the total annihilation of the Village Police, and the substitution in their place of a subordinate constabulary, would be a fatal mistake. Let us consider whether out of the accumulated wisdom of so many counsellors we cannot evolve something to meet our requirements. The difficult point appears to be to secure for the chowkidar regular pay and efficient supervision, and at the same time to preserve his distinctive character as a village servant. The remedy we would venture to suggest is simple and but a modification of that proposed in 1865 by the Inspector-General of Police. Abolish the *panchayet* as an executive body, but retain it as a consultative and deliberative power in the village community. Let the *panchayet* fix the rate of assessment in each village or cluster of villages, and give them a voice in the election of the chowkidar; but let them have nothing to do with the chowkidar in an executive capacity.

The executive supervision of the chowkidar we would entrust to a Village Inspector, selected from the residents of the village circle. To each small circle of villages we would appoint an Inspector whose principal duty would be to collect monthly or quarterly the pay of the chowkidars and distribute it at the Police stations. We would give the Inspector honorary rank, but no Police powers, or at the most very limited powers, to be exercised only in cases of great emergency. We would not ask him ordinarily to do any Police work, except receive daily reports of occurrences from the chowkidar of his circle and forward them on to the Police station, and to enquire into any complaints made by the villagers against their chowkidar. A small percentage on the circle collection would provide sufficient pay for these Inspectors, who would thus become, what we so much require, a connecting link between the Village Police and the Government Police. Their honorary position would, we believe, cause the office to be eagerly sought after, while their daily intercourse with the chowkidars, and their position towards them as paymasters, would give them sufficient influence and so many opportunities of gaining information as would render them valuable allies to the regular Police in the investigation of cases. The District Superintendent should, we think, have power to veto the appoint-

ment of any chowkidar, and also full power to fine and dismiss. Nothing could be more absurd than to give the District Magistrate and to a dozen other young Magistrates under him, power to dismiss the village chowkidars, and at the same time to withdraw all power over the Village Police from the District Superintendent.

The power of summoning defaulters and distraining property for the arrears of pay should of course rest with the Magistrate. What we in fact want is, that Magistrates and Superintendents of Police should have power to do now legally what they did before illegally. We are not of those who hold that every village chowkidar is a depraved scoundrel, a thief, and a robber by nature and by profession. In olden days no doubt the chowkidar was, as the only means of self-protection, selected from the robber class; but the modern chowkidar of Bengal is a very different animal from his ancient prototype. Although he is often a great blackguard still, it is more owing to our own mismanagement of him than to any hereditary love for free-booting. As a mass they are at present, unorganised, unpaid, and utterly without supervision, but there are among them many good and useful men who only require to be stimulated into activity under some organised system to be converted into a very serviceable public body. The dry bones are there—they only want to be called into life.

II. *Training Schools.*—One of the greatest difficulties every District Superintendent of Police has had to contend against is the want of trained and educated men to supply vacancies as they occur in the establishment. When the new Police system was first introduced, a strong reserve was kept up at the head-quarters of each district, and a school established in which officers and men received careful instruction before they were sent to a Police station. But the new Force had been barely three years in existence before the reserves were largely cut down, and, in the general reductions which took place consequent on the financial crisis of 1869, these reserves were, we may say, swept away altogether. The consequence is a painful want of elasticity throughout the whole Force. The few officers and men who now constitute a nominal reserve barely suffice to supply the daily demands for escorts and sick reliefs. The Government orders of 1869 having directed that all reductions were to be carried out which would not render the Police "absolutely inefficient," the Police stations are all working with a minimum Force. There is never a spare man left either to learn or to instruct. When a vacancy occurs in the grade of Head Constable, or Sub-Inspector, the first decent candidate that offers himself is accepted and sent to a thannah to blunder on the best way he can until experience has taught him his work. Is it remarkable that under such a system officers commit grave irregularities, and sometimes illegalities, which

render them liable to heavy punishments ; or is it matter of surprise that with such risks before them respectable men, shrink from seeking employment in the Police Department ? All this has been strongly represented again and again to Government, but nothing has yet been done to improve matters.

Eight years ago the Inspector-General submitted a proposal for the establishment of High schools in different parts of Bengal for the systematic training and instruction of the Police Force. The scheme was warmly supported by the then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Cecil Beadon, and subsequently by Sir W. Grey ; but after a delay of nearly three years the Government of India refused to sanction the scheme, chiefly on the ground of its cost. The Inspector-General was then directed to submit a modified scheme, which he did towards the end of 1868. This scheme was sanctioned by Government in 1869 ; but owing to the financial pressure which just then occurred it was never carried out. In his Annual Report for 1870, the Inspector-General of Police again earnestly called attention to this important subject, and the Lieutenant-Governor replied that "the remarks of the Inspector-General on the necessity of some further instruction being given to the officers of the Force are worthy of consideration, and the Lieutenant-Governor will be glad to receive the further propositions of Colonel Pughe." The Inspector-General of Police accordingly proposed that in those districts, where the want of a reserve was most severely felt, the District Superintendent should be permitted to entertain two or three extra head constables on probation, paying them from such savings as he might effect from year to year in the budget grant for his district, and training them gradually to occupy higher posts. Colonel Pughe added that he had wished to propose a much more elaborate scheme, but that he could not see his way to making a sufficient reduction to meet the expense. The Lieutenant-Governor's reply to this proposal provokes a smile. "Only one-third of the whole Force," writes Sir G. Campbell, "can read and write. This is a state of things very detrimental to efficiency, and it is difficult to see that the Inspector-General's proposal to entertain extra head constables on probation would much improve matters. The Lieutenant-Governor wishes to know what is done in the way of schooling the men at present. In the Calcutta Police the men are taught their drill lessons out of a book, *which they sing or recite*, and he thinks the Police generally might be taught the simplest Bengalee or Hindi characters in this manner. The whole subject should be specially reported on." The old story, more reports called for on a subject which had been reported upon every year for the last ten years, and a suggestion (save the mark !) that policemen might be educated by teaching them to sing "shoulder arms, present arms."

We sincerely trust that this important subject will not be allowed to drop. If sufficient funds cannot be spared for the establishment of regular schools, there can be no better alternative course than to allow each District Superintendent to spend what little he can save out of his annual budget in educating one or two spare officers and constables. In every district there is, as a rule, at the end of the year, some small saving under fluctuating charges; so many men have been away sick on half-pay—a little money has been saved under the head of contingencies, travelling allowance, stationery, or postage. These in the aggregate amount to a considerable sum, which at present represents, as far as Police interests are concerned, an unknown quantity, and at the end of each financial year is swept back into the Government coffers. Much might be made out of this if properly utilised.

Much has been said and written about a want of detective ability in the Force. This, no doubt, is a point in which considerable improvement can be effected, although we are by no means prepared to admit that the detective power of the Force is one whit weaker now than it was fifteen years ago; on the contrary, there is much to show that it has improved. Those who talk so glibly about the detective ability of the old darogah, forget the means which he constantly, and as a matter of course, adopted for discovering crime. Did a heavy burglary or theft occur about which an unusual stir was made, the darogah thought nothing of arresting every *budmash* for miles round, and he kept them in confinement for weeks together until some one confessed. He had no hesitation in searching every house indiscriminately in a whole village for stolen property. He had not the slightest compunction in tying up and publicly flogging a village chowkidar or a reported bad character if they could not, or would not give him a clue. In short his detective ability consisted chiefly in his power of extorting a confession; but all these royal roads to detection are now closed. The modern policeman dares not, except at a tremendous risk, resort to any of these practices, and if he does not make so many wonderful discoveries as his predecessor, it is not that he is less intelligent, but because he is forced to be more scrupulous. A true detective, some one has said, cannot be made; he is born. The quick observation, the rapid inference, the instinctive arriving at a right conclusion, are faculties strongly inherent in only a few men; but careful training will do much to develop these faculties, and with proper schools the intellectual capacity of the Force generally will also be raised.

III.—Protection from false charges. There is nothing, perhaps, which has militated more powerfully against the progress of the new Police system than the constant risk which all grades run of having false charges brought against them.

There is nothing so much as this which prevents good and respectable men from seeking employment in the Police Department. No man of education and respectable position will take a Police appointment until he has exhausted his chances of getting employment in every other department under Government; nor is this surprising when we come to consider how many excellent Police officers have been and are even now annually put upon their trial upon utterly false and frivolous charges. A policeman above all other men should have protection afforded him from false and vexatious charges. In a country where false charges are the rule, and perjured witnesses can be obtained at a moment's notice for a few annas, the policeman is ever walking on the brink of a precipice. In the performance of his duties he must often make himself obnoxious to his fellows. He never can please all parties; constantly surrounded as he is by powerful and unscrupulous enemies, nothing but the most vigilant discrimination and care on the part of the superior authorities can save him from utter ruin.

It may be said that the Police officer does not run greater risk than any other person; but this is a mistake. The mass of the people are protected in a great measure from the false charges which are brought in hundreds every day by the Station Police officer, who generally makes the local investigation and exposes the falsity of the charges; but he cannot protect himself. He is generally put on his trial without any local investigation and with every thing against him, especially if he be tried by an inexperienced Assistant or Deputy Magistrate.

In England, although it is the fashion to chaff and laugh at the "Bobby," there is at bottom a strong current of sound admiration for that useful functionary, and such a thing as a false charge against an English policeman is almost unknown. In India a Police officer has ever to steer between Scylla and Charybdis. If he too readily disbelieves a story, the Magistrate or the District Superintendent may suspect him of having been bought over; if on the other hand he sends up a case which *prima facie* has all appearance of truth, but which breaks down on trial, he is accused of rashness and want of judgment. In England the policeman receives the hearty co-operation and assistance of the whole community in tracing out crime. In India it is just as likely as not that a whole village will combine to conceal a crime and thwart the police officer, and woe to him if he loses his temper, if he says a hasty word, or lifts his little finger, a false charge is forthwith trumped up against him. Men of long Indian experience, of course, know all this, and at the hands of such men the policeman has comparatively little to fear. His great danger is in the sub-division with young inexperi-

enced English youths, fresh from school, or the more prejudiced Deputy Magistrate who remembers only what the policeman was by repute twenty years ago, and judges accordingly. Well might the able Commissioner of Burdwan record in a recent official report: "When a man asks me to help him to obtain a police appointment, I invariably caution him that the "path of duty leads but to the jail, and I regret to think to how many once-promising police officers that I have known, the jail has been the goal of their ambition. I do not know any position more difficult or more dangerous than that of a Police Sub-Inspector investigating a case." We would earnestly urge that, as a general rule, no Police officer should ever be put on his trial without a thorough local investigation being first made on the spot, either by some superior officer of the department or by the Sub-Divisional Magistrate. To pay a man, who has been unjustly put on his trial, the expenses of his defence is no doubt a very proper thing; but it can never compensate for the anxiety, the worry, and the disgrace to which the man has been put. A policeman once put into the dock, however unjustly, is branded for life. He never gets over it.

The law, it may be said, provides a heavy punishment for the bringing of false charges, but Indian readers need not be told what a troublesome business it is to bring home a false charge to the real instigator. You may, perhaps, get at the wretched factotum, but the wealthy zemindar or respectable Brahmin who secretly pulled the wire escapes. In any case prevention is far better than cure, and any measure which will check false prosecutions in their incipient stage is worth all subsequent remedies put together.

• IV. Improved position and better prospects for Subordinate Police Officers.—In every other department a field is open to men of energy and ambition. A good Head Clerk or a Sheristadār in a Judge's or Magistrate's office may rise to be a Moonsiff; a Subordinate Judge, a Deputy Magistrate; a subordinate in the D.P.W. may rise to be an Executive Engineer; a Sub-Inspector of Schools has the prospect of some day becoming a Professor; but a Police Sub-Inspector has reached his goal when he becomes an Inspector. An immense impetus, we believe, would be given to the progress of Police reform, if it were once understood that higher appointments, such as Deputy Magistracies, or Assistant Superintendentships were open to subordinate officers who qualified themselves. There can be no better training in a Deputy Magistrate than the work of a Police Inspector. Certainly an infinitely better training than teaching him a smattering of Algebra, or a superficial knowledge of Surveying. We have never been able to understand why Government

has always been so reluctant to adopt such an obvious means of raising the whole tone and status of the Police Force.

With the chances open to them of rising to high positions and fair protection from false and vexatious prosecutions, men of good family and education would, we believe, eagerly come forward for Police appointments, and the Department would become as popular as it is now unpopular.

Much might be said on this subject, but we have already exceeded the limits of a Review article, and we must hasten to a close.

Let us, in conclusion, contrast for a moment the system of Police as contemplated by Act V. and that which is practically carried out in its place.

The cardinal principle of Act V. is a separate departmental organisation; officers and men carefully trained, minutely supervised, all working together and devoting their whole time and energy to one particular object—the prevention and detection of crime. It was a system forced upon a reluctant autocracy by the exigencies of the times and the necessities of a more advanced civilisation. As we progress, the more complex our machinery necessarily becomes. We are forced to sub-divide our labour; we are compelled in India, as in every other part of the world, to create separate Departments of Public Works, Jails, Police. Putting aside political considerations, the experience of all ages and of all nations teaches us that no system can be sound which does not recognise a division of labour. "But," says the Civilian Magistrate-Collector, "the political consideration is of paramount importance. I must have everything under my thumb, or I would lose my position and influence in the district. The natives look upon me as the representative of Government; they call me their *ma bab*. They cannot understand separate departments." To this we reply, that whatever the native has been in the olden time, he is now a very different animal. He cares just about as much for the Magistrate-Collector of his district as he does for the King of Ashantee land. We have long since (at least in Bengal) destroyed that old illusion about *ma bab*. We have given the Indian ryot too many Sub-Divisional Magistrates with full powers, and Small Cause Courts, and Moonsiff's *Cutcheries*, and Sessions Judges, and Privy Councils. We were present not many months since when a wretched old woman of the poorest class came from a distant village and presented an appeal to the District Magistrate against a decision of a Deputy Magistrate. The case was a very clear one, and the District Magistrate good-naturedly suggested that, perhaps, it was scarcely worth while appealing. But said the dame you *must* hear my appeal. Suppose I give it against you, said the Magistrate.—Then I will go to the Sessions Judge. And if the Sessions Judge goes against you?—Then I will go to the

High Court. And if the High Court reject your appeal?—Then I shall go to the Privy Council, said the old lady, and she walked out triumphant.

With all respect for Sir G. Campbell's abilities and qualifications, we cannot but consider that his whole policy was a retrograde one. Men of far higher intellectual calibre have, after mature consideration, resolved upon making the Police a separate department; while they recognised the importance of having one set of competent officers to devote their whole time and attention to Police affairs, they at the same time provided that the District Magistrate should be distinctly recognised as the Political head of his district; but they wisely placed certain restrictions upon his powers of interference. They put him very much in the position of a General of Division towards troops under his command. They said you can allot your men, inspect them, report on their efficiency or their faults. Call them out in case of emergency, and issue in an administrative capacity such General Orders as you may deem necessary; but do not interfere with the internal economy and the ordinary every-day duties of the regiments under you—that is the business of the Commanding Officer. Sir G. Campbell has reversed all this. He has said virtually to the District Magistrate, the District Superintendent of Police is not fit to be trusted, you must look after him. The Civil Surgeon cannot manage his jail without your supervision. The Executive Engineer cannot be trusted; you must check his estimates and report upon his schemes. The Educational officer knows nothing of his work, you must report on his reports. The consequence is an enormous waste of time and power. In the vain attempt to exercise supervision over all, the District Magistrate exercises effective supervision over none. His time and energy, instead of being spent on executive or judicial work with which he is familiar, is expended in collating and studying the reports of other men, and in writing voluminous minutes upon every imaginable subject—Sanitation, Jails, Municipality, Police, Education, &c. What is the use of a District Magistrate doing over again what has already been done by competent men? What can be more ridiculous, for instance, than to ask a District Magistrate to examine and certify to the sound bodily condition of a batch of prisoners who have already been examined by the Civil Surgeon?

In the futile attempt to concentrate in the hands of one man the functions of many, we are gradually converting our Commissioners into sham Lieutenant-Governors, our District Magistrates into petty Commissioners, and our Sub-divisional Magistrates into District Magistrates of a very inferior calibre. A few years hence, and under increasing pressure, we shall be compelled to sub-divide still further; until in the end, after an enormous expen-

diture of money and waste of time, we shall discover that we have abandoned the teachings of history and the first principle of political science only to follow an *ignis futurus*.

The mischief of Sir G. Campbell's principle is still more apparent when we apply it to the numerous sub-divisions of a district. It is nothing unusual to find a young Assistant Magistrate of two or three years' standing in charge of a sub-division. He can barely talk the language; he is completely ignorant of the customs, habits, prejudices, and feelings of the people; he has had no experience of the world; his judgment is totally unformed; in England he would, probably, be still at school. Yet we give him judicial and executive powers, which in any other country in the world would be given only to men of mature age, and after a long course of careful training; and we gravely ask his opinion upon subjects which have puzzled the critical acumen of a Mayne and the gigantic intellect of a Stephen. The theory is that the District Magistrate should exercise a close supervision over all his subordinate Magistrates, both in their judicial and executive capacity. Practically, the District Magistrate can exercise no authority whatever in his judicial capacity over his subordinate Magistrates, if they have full magisterial powers—and this almost every young Assistant has after he has been a couple of years in the country. Executively, except at head-quarters, his influence is very small. What little power he can exercise he is very reluctant to put in force. He has no time to study carefully the "pros" and "cons" of every case that may be referred to him; and on the whole it is safer to let things alone than to take notice of every injudicious order issued or error of judgment committed by his subordinates. This is more especially noticeable in serious criminal cases where the glorious uncertainty of the law may, perhaps, by the time the case comes before the Sessions Judge, place the District Magistrate at a disadvantage in the eyes of his subordinates. Sir G. Campbell, with his natural acuteness, detected a weak spot when he promulgated his famous "vivisection" order, but, alas, like many other of Sir George's Resolutions, it was *vox et preterea nihil*. We have too great reason to fear that under the late administration, "vivisection" has become more rampant than ever. Sir George with his theories of concentrating power, after all his high-sounding orders, abolishing Urdu, resuscitating Assamese, elevating the District Magistrate, subduing the Sessions Judge and High Court, creating representative ryots, establishing model Sub-Deputies, has only succeeded, we fear, in planting in each district several "vivisectors" instead of one. We have no wish to quarrel with the theory which maintains that the Magistrate must be the Political head of his district; but we protest with all our might against

a policy which, instead of concentrating the power and responsibility of guiding and ruling the Police in the hands of one set of men, fritters it away among half-a-dozen young and inexperienced Assistant Magistrate is half-educated Deputies scattered all over a district. Above all, we protest most strongly against the illegal exercise of a power which in defiance of the law withdraws from Police officers the powers with which they were duly invested by that law. No worse example could have been set to the millions under our rule than the deliberate and open infraction of an Imperial Law by the head of the Bengal Government.

ART. IX.—EARLY MAHOMEDAN BENGAL.

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- I.—*Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal, Muhammadan period, A.D. 1203 to 1538.* By H. Blochmann, M.A., Calcutta Madrasah. Rouse, Calcutta. 1873.
- II.—*An Easy Introduction to the History and Geography of Bengal. For the Junior classes of Schools.* By E. Lethbridge, M.A., late Scholar of Exeter College, Oxford; Officiating Principal of Krishnagar College, Bengal. Thacker, Spink & Co. Calcutta, 1874.
- III.—*The History of Bengal from the first Mahomedan Invasion until the virtual Conquest of the country by the English, A.D. 1757.* By Charles Stewart, Esq., M.A.S., late Major on the Bengal Establishment, Professor of Oriental Languages in the Honourable East India Company's College, Herts. Black, Parry, & Co. London, 1813.
- IV.—*The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli, illustrated by Coins, Inscriptions, and other Antiquarian Remains.* By Edward Thomas, late of the East India Company's Bengal Civil Service; Member of the Asiatic Societies of Bengal, London, and Paris. Trübner & Co., London, 1871.
- V.—*The Initial Coinage of Bengal, under the early Muhammadan conquerors. Part II. Embracing the preliminary period between A.H. 614-634 (A.D. 1217-1236-7.)* By Edward Thomas, F.R.S. Trübner & Co. London, 1873.

SO frequent and so important have been the additions made of late years to the history of Bengal, that it had become necessary, as it were, to write the books up to date, and to show synoptically what is now known on the subject. We are, therefore, prepared to welcome such works as that recently put forth by Professor Blochmann, under the modest title of "Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal." The work, however, is not a mere compilation of the labours of others; for, with the exception of Mr. Edward Thomas, no one has contributed more for many years past, to our knowledge of the archæology of Bengal, than Professor Blochmann himself, by editing and translating the Aycen Akbaree, and otherwise introducing English readers, in the pages of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of

Bengal, to the works of Arabic and Persian writers, and, still more, by decyphering the legends on coins and mural inscriptions, collected from various parts of the Province.

What Professor Blochmann has done for the scholar, Mr. Lethbridge has done for the general reader; for many more advanced students than will be found in the junior classes of schools, for whom he professes to write, will be glad to possess his book. Writing in a popular style, omitting arguments and references, and stating conclusions only, Mr. Lethbridge gives a systematic account of the present state of our knowledge of the history of Bengal, by means of a collation of the most recent lights on the subject—notably, for the earlier period now under review, the publications of Professor Blochmann and Mr. Thomas.

Hitherto the only accessible work on the history of this province has been that of Major Stewart, founded partly upon the work of Firishtah, which he knew both in the original and in Colonel Dow's translation, partly on the works of Minhaj-oos-Siraj, Zia-ool-Barane, and other early historians, but mainly upon the *Riyaz-oos-Salateen*, composed at Maldah, in the immediate neighbourhood of the old Mahomedan capitals of Poroowa, Gour, Tanda, Ekdala, and Delkot, in 1797-88 A.D. by Gholam Hosen of Zaidpoor, for Mr. George Udny, who was for many years the East Indian Company's Commercial Resident at Maldah. Professor Blochmann says of Gholam Hosen,

"From a comparison of his work with that by Firishtah, it is evident that for the early portion he has used books which are likewise unknown at present, and it is unfortunate that his preface gives no information on this point. His additional source, it is true, cannot have been a work of considerable size; yet he gives valuable dates which, as will be seen below, are often confirmed by collateral evidence."

A comparison of the *Riyaz-oos-Salateen* with the sketch of Mahomedan Bengal given by Doctor Buchanan, in his account of the district of Dinagepoor,* will show pretty clearly that both were drawn from the same source, and that source, Doctor Buchanan says, was a manuscript which he found at Poroowa. Of late years I have searched in vain for this most valuable document; it has been described to me as a kind of cotemporary burial register and record, kept up at the shrines of Poroowa, from the days of the saint, Shekh Noor-ood-deen Noor Kootgob Alam, who died there in 1447 A.D. if not from an earlier date; and the guardians of the shrine say, that some years

* Page 616, vol. ii, Martin's Eastern India.

back it was given up to a Collector of Poorneah, who had sent for it, and that it was never returned. I could not ascertain the name of this Collector who has deprived the world of what is probably of great value.

Since the days of Major Stewart a vast amount of additional knowledge of the history of Mahomedan Bengal has been contributed by Mr. Edward Thomas, from his study of coins and medals, especially in two papers on the Initial Coinage of Bengal, the first of which appeared in this country, reprinted from the papers of the Royal Asiatic Society in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1867, and has, moreover, been worked up by Mr. Thomas in his last edition of the "Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi." The second part was published in 1873. The bulk of the coins discussed formed part of a hoard of 18,500 silver coins, ranging from the end of the thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century of our era, discovered in 1863 in Cooch Behar, near the capital of the old kingdom of Komota which we know to have been in existence about 1500 A.D. Another most valuable contribution is being made in Professor Dowson's edition of Sir Henry Elliot's Index to the Historians of Mahomedan India, amplified with copious extracts and translations from their works.

Up to the year 658 A.H.* we have the writings of Minhāj-oo-Siraj, author of the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*. For upwards of thirty years this writer took an active part in politics, and in 641 A.H. paid a visit to the viceregal court at Lokhnouttee, or Gour, so that he writes much of men with whom he had talked, and of matters which had come under his own observation.

From the close of the work of Minhāj we have only the far less trustworthy authority of Zia-ood-deen Baranee, who wrote the *Tarikh-i-Firoz-Shahee* ninety-five years later, and carefully excluded from his work all that had been written in the *Tabakat-i-Nasiree*. Translations of parts of his work by Major Fuller, and by Messrs. Whalley and Colvin, of the Civil Service, appeared in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1869, 1870, and 1871. The inaccuracy of this writer has been pointed out by Mr. Thomas.†

Far more valuable information is derived from the notes of the African Traveller, Ibn Batuta, of Tangiers, who was at Delhi from 734 to 743 A.H., and being sent by Mahmud bin Toghlaq as ambassador to China, was at Chittagong in Eastern

* 1260 A.D.

† Pages 133, 141, 148, Chronicles of Pathan Kings.

Bengal when Fakhr-ood-deen Mobarak was in revolt, 750 A.H.* He described what he saw, and also gave an account of the immediately preceding dynastic changes.

Of later writers we have Abd-ool-Kadir Malook Shah Badaonee, who wrote in the time of Akbar, and died in 1004 A.H.† Professor Blochmann gives an account of him at page 107 of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1869.

Also Nizam-ood-deen Ahmad, a friend of Badaonee, wrote in 1590 A.D. an account of the Bengal kings from 1338 to 1538 ; and Firishtah, a later writer still, has a chapter on Bengal.

Written history has received sometimes amplification, sometimes corroboration, and sometimes correction, from the testimony of coins and mural inscriptions ; and it is this testimony which Mr. Thomas and Professor Blochmann have laid before the English reader.

The information to be derived from a coin consists generally of the date of its issue, the mint-town, or place of its issue, and the authority by which it is issued. From this last point we learn whether the ruler of Bengal for the time being struck his own coins as an independent sovereign, or issued them only in the name of the Delhi Emperor, whose supremacy he acknowledged, and in at least one instance we find proof of recognition of the Bengal Kingdom by the Khalif at Baghdad. From the name of the mint-town, we learn the residences of the rulers at different periods, which have often political significance, and clear up apparent confusion of dates by showing that at the same time different persons were reigning and issuing coins, but in different parts of Bengal.

The mint-towns hitherto known are,‡

- * 1st.—Lakhnoutee, or Gour ;
- 2nd.—Firozabad, or Poroowa, near Maldah ;
- 3rd.—Satgaon in the Hooghly District ;
- 4th.—Shahr-i-Nau, or the New City, the Cernove of Portuguese travellers, on the Ganges, but not otherwise identified ;
- 5th.—Ghayaspoor, which General Cunningham identifies with a place of that name, a mil, or so N. W. of Maldah ;
- 6th.—Sonargaon, near Dacca ;
- 7th.—Muazzamabad, identified by Professor Blochmann§ with a tract between the Brahmapootra and the Lokhiya, in Sarkar Sonargaon ;

* 1350 A.D. See page 23, Thomas' *Chronicles of Pathan Kings* ; page 28, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1867.

† 1595 A.D.

‡ Page 151, Thomas' *Chronicles of Pathan Kings* ; page 5, Blochmann's *Contributions*.

§ Page 27, *id. ib.*

8th.—Fathabad, near Furreedpoor ; *

9th.—Khalifatabad, near Bagherhat, in Jessore ; † a mint of Nosrot Shah ;

10th.—Hosenabad, a mint of Hosen Shah, which I think may be an uninhabited village site of that name, twelve miles E.S.E. of old Maldah, between the Taugon and the Poornabhoba.

The information derived from mural inscriptions is equally valuable and of a more varied character. The more ancient inscriptions are carved in relief, in the Arabic character called Tooghra, on slabs of a stone somewhat resembling a black slate, which is often called chlorite, but which I believe to be basalt ; later ones are in the rounder character, rather Persian than Arabic, called Nastalik, and are very often on a stone of a much coarser description, which does not resist the weather like the stone of close texture, so that I have found an Arabic inscription four hundred years old, in perfect preservation, close to a Persian one, a quarter its age, which had almost disappeared, owing to the wear of wind and weather. These stones are sometimes found still on the east front of the mosque or tomb for which they were originally carved, but oftener let as an ornament into the front of a later building, or preserved by some pious Mahomedan at the grave of a saint or of a revered ancestor, the slab being still an object of veneration to the people, though all trace of its original situation has long been lost. I have very rarely in the Mahomedan districts of Maldah and Dinagapore found an inscribed slab wilfully damaged. Indeed I remember only one instance ; the inscription was of the reign of Hosen Shah and was set up on a newly-built mosque within the last half dozen years ; it was greatly injured, and this I was told was because the children of the village had been in the habit of using it for a plaything.

I will describe some of the situations in which stones bearing Tooghra inscriptions are found.

Some three miles to the south-west of English Bazar, of New Maldah, in the middle of bamboo jungle, is a fine mosque, the roof supported on massive granite columns, encrusted with carved bricks, and bearing over the doorway an inscription recording its erection in the year of the Hijra 941, in the reign of Mahmood Shah, the last King of Bengal. A hundred yards to the eastward some ruined brickwork marks the site of what the villagers call a "Mombor," (Imambara, or Mimbar?) and north of that a deep gateway, lined with hewn stone, leads into what was probably once a courtyard, sixty yards wide. At

* Pages 9, 20, Blochmann's Contributions

+ Pages 9, 19, id. ib.

the other side of the court a second gateway, ten feet deep, leads into an inner court, a hundred feet each way, in the middle of which a building, once apparently surmounted by a dome, contains the tomb of the saint Akhee-Siraj-ood-deen. Outside the door are laid three inscriptions, one a text of the Koran, said to have come from the ruined "Mombor," and the other two the inscriptions dated 916 given by Professor Blochmann as Nos. 28 and 29 at page 86, and there stated to have come from Gour. As a matter of fact, the shrine is outside the northern boundary of Gour.

Inscription No. 27, recording the building of a Jami Musjid or congregational mosque, is not on a mosque but on the west front of a small tomb close to the police station at old Maldah, and inside the tomb I found preserved a detached slab, recording the building of a mosque in the reign of the earlier Mahmood Shah, father of Barbok Shah, in the year of the Hijra 859. Near this, let, upside down, into a ruined wall inside the Katray—an enclosure which Doctor Buchanan says was a Sarai, but which, from its great strength, I believe to have been originally a fort—I found a slab recording the building of a mosque in the reign of the Abyssinian Sayaf-ood-deen Firoz Shah.

Within a mile of this, set up edgewise on the ground at a grave said to be that of a relative of Sultan Adam Balkhee, I found a slab with an inscription of the reign of Hosen Shah, dated 899, and carved by the same hand as the Poroowa inscription of Mozuffur Shah, whom Hosen Shah slew, dated 898, of which Professor Blochmann gives a plate.

On the ground, face upwards, at the grave of a saint or King, named Shihab-ood-deen, I found two slabs taken from mosques, one of Hosen Shah, dated 918, and one of his son Nosrot Shah, 930.

Professor Blochmann has printed* my account of an inscription of the reign of Barbok Shah A.H. 865, at the tomb of Chehel Ghazee, near Dinagepoor, and I have since found another of the same reign, dated 868, at Deotalao, on the Maldah and Dinagepoor road, where the Poroowa saint had a cell. I hear that among the Gour inscriptions taken to Serampoor by Mr. Marshman another Barbok Shah, of 865 has been found, some months later than the one at Chehel Ghazee's tomb.

From the shrine of the saint Maulana Ata, at the old capital of Lubbkot, I sent down four inscriptions, noticed but wrongly quoted by Doctor Buchanan, one, the earliest in Bengal,

of Kai Kaos Shah, 697 A.H.; one of Sikandar Shah, 765; one of Mozuffur Shah, 896, and another of Hosen Shah, 918, all recording the foundation of mosques or the repairs of buildings at the shrine. Translations of all these were given by Professor Blochmann in the Asiatic Society's Journal for 1872. Besides these a fifth inscription once existed on a part of a building now fallen; but I am told that the slab was carried off by a person named Kasheekant, at one time employed by the Government of Bengal in the Educational service, and I have never received a reply to my letters to him on the subject.

A number of inscriptions have been found in Behar, valuable as showing at what periods that province was included in the Bengal Kingdom; others at Satgaon, Tribenue, and Poroowa in the district of Hooghly; many still exist in Gour and the neighbourhood; I found a beautiful inscription of Firoz Shah at Goamaltee indigo factory, in Gour. At the old capital of Poroowa in Maldah, at the shrines of the saints Kootob Alum and Ala-ool-Huk, at the tomb of the king Jalal-ood-deen, and at the Adeena mosque, there are numerous inscriptions. There are some, not yet properly recorded, at the old posts of Tajpoor, Hemtabad and Ghoraghat, in Dinagepoor. Doctor Wise has sent many most valuable inscriptions from Dacca, the neighbourhood of the old capital of Sonargaon, and from Sylhet; others have come from Monghyr, Mongolkot in Burdwan, Azimgurh in the north-west, Dhamrai and Kalna, and there are probably hundreds of inscriptions, of which we know nothing, on old shrines and mosques, buried in jungle, throughout Bengal. Repeatedly, when taking a rubbing of an inscription, I have heard, from people among the crowd attracted to see my proceedings, of other inscriptions which I could never have found for myself; and as soon as they saw that I had no wish to take away the stones, they have always given me every assistance. Moreover they always understood perfectly my object in taking inscriptions to be to collect materials for history. The guardians of shrines were generally anxious to know whether the slabs recorded any grant of the lands with which their shrines were endowed.

Both coins and mural inscriptions almost invariably record the whole collection of titles known as the *joloos* name of the king, the name which he assumed on his accession to the throne. The word *joloos*, جلوس, which I write according to its Bengalee pronunciation, means 'seated.' The king is usually styled Sultan, and, if his father reigned before him, the words son of a Sultan are never omitted; then follows the name by which Mahomedan writers generally called the prince, "Glory," or "Sun" or

"Sword," "of the world and of the faith," *Fakhr*, "Glory," *ud-dunya wad-din*, a title shortened in common use into *Fakhr-uddin*. The following are some of the most usual words forming the first part of this title :—*Nasir*, "Defender;" *Sayaf*, "Sword;" *Fakhr*, "Glory;" *Ala*, "Glory;" *Shams*, "Sun;" *Ikhtyar*, "Choice;" *Jalal*, "Splendour;" *Rukn*, "Pillar;" *Ghiyas*, "Redresser of wrongs."

Then comes the part of the title called the *Kunya*, كنية, a name meaning "Father of" something; the most common is *Abool Mozuffer*, "Father of the Victorious;" we have also *Abool Mojahid*, "Father of the Champion of Islam;" or *Abool Nasar*, "Father of Victory."

Lastly we have the true name, Hosen Shah, Ilyas Shah, Nosrot Shah, or whatever it may be, but after the accession the King is usually known to Mahomedan writers, by his first title only. Thus after Ilyas Shah came to the throne we read no more of Hajee Ilyas, but of Shums-ood-deen, and the name of Hosen Shah, so familiar throughout Bengal, is lost in that of Ala-ood-deen, in the use of which Elphinstone follows Ferishta and other Mahomedan writers.

Sikandar Shah's title is only *Abool Mojahid*.

As an instance I will give the name of Hosen Shah in full. His father never reigned. Coins and inscriptions, which are numerous, call him Sultan Ala-ud-dunya-wad-din Abool Mozaffer Hosen Shah, "Sultan, glory of the world and of the faith, father of the Victorious, Hosen Shah, son of Sayid Ashraf, the Hosennee;" the Sayids being descended from Hosen, grandson of the Prophet.

The form of the *joloos* name is almost invariable, so much so that from a previous knowledge of it, the missing portion of an imperfect inscription may frequently be supplied. An exception, however, I remember in the case of Barbok Shah, whose *kunya* name is in most inscriptions *Abool Mojahid*, but is given in the Deotalao inscription, a very rude one, as *Abool Mozuffar*, while we possess no coin giving his *joloos* name at all. Another exception is in the case of *Mozuffer Shah* whose *kunya* name is *Abool Nasar*; while Mr. F. C. Bayley's reading of a coin, published at page 311, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1873, gives *Abool Mozuffar*.

The date of a coin is usually given in figures; in most inscriptions it is written at full length, as "in the year six and ten and "nine hundred," 916," but in some it is written in an expression of which each letter denotes a certain number, and the sum of all added together gives the date. Thus Professor Blochmann*

* Page 54, Contributions.

has remarked that the words *Shams-ul-hidayat* give the year 851 as the date of the death of the saint Kootoob Alam. Here—

ش	=	300
ر	=	40
س	=	60
ا	=	1
ل	=	30
د	=	5
د	=	4
ا	=	1
ی	=	10
ت	=	400
Total ...		851

This method of numeration is called *abjad*.

I will indicate further the nature of the historical evidence gathered from coins and inscriptions, as I come upon instances in sketching the earlier history of Bengal under the Mahomedans.

For the consideration of this subject it is convenient to divide it, as proposed by Professor Blochmann* into five parts.

The first, the Initial Period, from the time of the conquest of Bengal by Mahomed Bakhtiyar Khiljee, 1203 A.D., as long as Bengal was governed by rulers professedly appointed by the Delhi Court, though, as a matter of fact, they were frequently independent.

The second may be called the Sooltanee Period, during which Bengal was really an independent kingdom. This period Professor Blochmann, and Major Stewart before him, date from the revolt of Fakhr-ood-deen, but as I believe Fakhr-ood-deen to have held Eastern Bengal only, I prefer Mr. Edward Thomas' view of Ilyas Shah, from the time of his taking Sonargaon as the first independent King of all Bengal. This was in 1352 A.D.

The independence of the kingdom of Bengal ends with the expulsion of the Hosere dynasty by Sher Shah the Afghan; and the third, the Afghan period, begins in 1538 A.D. and ends with Daood Khan in 1576, from which date the Emperor Akbar made Bengal a Soobah of the Empire.

The fourth, the Moghul period, Professor Blochmann closes with Ali Verdi Khan's rule in 1740; and the fifth, the Nawabee period, ends with the cession of the Dewanee to the East India Company in 1765 A.D.

The Professor's work deals only with the first and second periods and to the history of the Initial period, he says* that he has little to add to the information which Mr. Thomas has gathered.

The first appearance of the Mahomedans in Bengal is thus described† by Mr. Thomas.†

"When Muhamad bin Sam had consolidated his early successes in India into a design of permanent occupancy, leaving a viceroy and generalissimo in Delhi, in the person of Kutb-ud-din Aibek, while his own court was still held at Ghuzni, the scattered subordinate commanders each sought to extend the frontiers of the faith beyond the limits already acquired; in pursuance of this accepted mission, Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khiljee, "sipah-salar in Oude, in A.H. 599‡ pushed his forces southward, and expelled, with but little effort, the ancient Hindu dynasty of Nuddeah, superseding that city as the capital and transferring the future metropolis of Bengal to the proximate site of Lakhnauttee, where he ruled, undisturbed by higher authority, till his own career was prematurely cut short in A.H. 602."§

Mr. Thomas' authority for stating that Bakhtiyar Khiljee made Lakhnauttee the capital of Bengal, appears to have been a passage from Minhaj-oos-Siraj; || but I think it quite possible that Minhaj was misled by taking an early mention of the province of Lakhnauttee, for the later city of the same name. When Minhaj himself visited Bengal, A.H. 641, ¶ he certainly found the city of Lakhnauttee the royal residence, but from his language, as quoted by Stewart, I gather that Hisam-ood-deen, who succeeded in 608 A.H., was, if not the founder of the city, at least the author of its greatness, and the first Governor who made it the capital of the province. The first Mahomedan capital I believe to have been Debkot, close to the Thana of Gongarampoor, in Dinagepoor, the inscriptions of which I have already mentioned. The name of Debkot is now preserved only in that of the Pergunna.

It was to Debkot that Mahomed Bakhtiyar retired after his disastrous campaign eastward of the Korotoya, and there he died. After a long absence he would naturally return to his capital; and, crossing the Korotoya, as most generals did, at Ghoraghat, it was as easy to have reached Lakhnauttee as Debkot. Again, Mr. Thomas** narrates how, when Ali Mardān Khiljee was appointed by Kootoob-

* Page 37, Contributions.

† Page 4, Journal As. Soc. Bengal, 1867.

‡ 1202-3 A.D.

§ A.D. 1205-6.

|| Quoted on page 107, Chronicles of Pathan Kings.

¶ 1243-44 A.D.

** Page 10, Part II, Initial Coinage of Bengal.

ood-deen, the Delhi Viceroy, to the *musnud* of Bengal, Hisam-ood-deen, the chief of the Khiljee oligarchy, met him at the River Koosee in Poorneah and conducted him to Debkot where his formal installation took place.

Professor Blochmann describes, from the *Tabakat-i-Nasiree* of Minhaj, the extent of the territory Mahomed Bakhtiyar conquered. The whole was called Lokhnoutee, a synonym of Gour, but then in early times Gour is used thrice for the name of a tribe or a territory, for once that it is applied to the city. No one pretends to give the city an earlier origin than the time of the Sen Kings, the dynasty that was reigning in Bengal when the Mahomedans came; and yet the tribe, or nation, of the Goura is mentioned in the Ramayana, the tract, in the Brihat Sanhita. The Pal Kings in their edicts address the Goura as their principal subjects,* and call themselves Goureshwar, Gouradhipo and Gourapatee as their principal titles.† In this way I consider that Gour, or the Goura, stood for Bengal, and think it probable that the term Lokhnoutee was at first used in the same way, and only restricted to the city when the Malik of Lokhnoute made it his residence. The territory is divided by the Mahomedan historian, as rendered by Professor Blochmann, into Lokhnoutee Debkot, of which Debkot was the principal place, and Lokhnoutee Lokhnoor, taking its name from a place not yet identified, but of which the name probably survives in Pergunna Lokhnoor, on the River Ramgunga, in Beerbhoom. The former portion lay on the left bank of the Ganges, and consisted chiefly of the tract called anciently Barendra, a name which I think identical with that of Borind, applied at this day to the region of comparatively high and undulating land in Maldah, Bogra, the north of Rajshahye, and the south of Dinagepoor. The Korotoya was probably the boundary on the north east. It is true that the *Tarikh-i-Firishtah* mentions the foundation of Rungpoor by Bakhtiyar Khiljee, on the frontier; but it is probable that it was rather an advanced post, far beyond the boundary, which was in Akbar's day defined by the Korotoya, and which I do not believe had ever been extended further to the eastward.

To the south-east the part of the Delta of which Dacca is the centre, remained under Hindoo Governors, probably the descendants of the Sen dynasty, until the time of Toghlok Shah, when in 1323 A.D. we find a Mahomedan Governor established at Sonargaon. In 658 A.H.† we know from

* Page 123, vol. i, Asiatic Researches, octavo edition.

† Page 136, vol. i, p. 133, vol v.,

Asiatic Researches; page 127, vol. i, Indian Antiquary.

‡ 1269 A.D.

Minhaj* that the descendants of the Sen or Lakshmaniya Kings of Nuddea were still reigning in this eastern country, called Banga. Westward the Mahomedan province included the southern part of the old district of Mithila, and, crossing the Ganges, we have the evidence of inscriptions to prove that South Behar was under the Mahomedan Governors of Bengal. Beerbhoom, and most of ancient Rarha, that is Burdwan and the adjacent country, and the north-western portion of Bagdee or the Gangetic Delta, were included in Lokhnoutee Lokhnour.

Such then being the territory, and the capital being as I believe at Debko, when Mahomed Bakhtiyar Khiljee died 602 A.H.† the Government fell into the hands of Izz-ood-deen Mahomed Shifan, the leader of a confederation of chiefs of the powerful tribe of Khiljee. He appears to have considered himself independent of Delhi, for he succumbed to the arms of Hisam-ood-deen, who, as I have already said, after ruling the province himself for some months, in 605 installed the nominee of Kootob-ood-deen, Ala-ood-deen Ali Mardan Khiljee, at Debkot.

In 607 A.H.‡ Ali Mardan took advantage of the death of the Kootob-ood-deen to declare himself independent; but in 608 he was slain by the Khiljee chiefs, and Hisam-ood-deen, also a Khiljee, elected in his stead. This Hisam-ood-deen stands out among a list of Governors, of whom we know little more than the names, with some individuality. His position was much more that of an independent King of Bengal, than an officer of the Court of Delhi. Indeed, by the end of the reign of the Emperor Aram Shah, 607 A.H., the Empire scarcely existed§ Altamsh, who afterwards became Emperor, held Delhi; Nasir-ood-deen was master of Scinde; Lahore was being fought for, and the Khiljee chiefs, under Aleo Murdan, were lords of Bengal. We know from coins of 616 A.H.|| that, Hisam-ood-deen assumed royal state, under the title of Sultan Ghayas-ood-deen, and Mr. Thomas¶ infers from coins of 620 A.H. that by that time a formal diploma had been conceded by the Khalif, admitting the Kingdom of Bengal within the bounds of Islam, and confirming the reigning monarch in possession, with added titles and dignities. And, as in 616 A.H.** a coin struck at Gour gives the name, not of the local ruler but of the Emperor Altamsh, we cannot date the assumption of royal state by Hisam-ood-deen

* Page 2, Blochmann's Contributions.

† 1205-6 A.D.

‡ 1209-10 A.D.

§ Minhaj-us Siraj apud Thomas'

Chronicles of Pathan Kings, page 40.

|| Page 16, Thomas' Initial Coinage of Bengal, Part II.

¶ Page 22, id. ib.

** Page 14, id. ib.

earlier than that year. Why he had not taken advantage of the state of affairs at Delhi before this, I cannot say. Altamsh had been consolidating the Empire anew, reducing his rivals one after another, and appears to have completed his work by 614, and yet Hisam-ood-deen did not renounce his fealty while the issue of the conflict, in which Altamsh was engaged in the north-west, was doubtful, but two years after his success had become assured. No doubt Hisam-ood-deen was aware of some reason which would prevent the Emperor from interfering with him, for as a matter of fact, Altamsh did not proceed against him until 622 A.H. Perhaps he was occupied with Jalal-ood-deen Khwarismee, who after his defeat at the hands of Jhengiz Khan in the Indus, attempted to establish himself in Hindoostan. In A.H. 622.† Altamsh was at last able to turn his attention to Bengal. He marched against Hisam-ood-deen, wrung from him a temporary acknowledgment of sovereignty, and, on his way back to Delhi, appointed Ala-ood-deen Janee Governor of Behar, an arrangement which Hisam-ood-deen very quickly annulled, resuming possession of that province as soon as the Emperor's back was turned. This brought the son of Altamsh, Nasir-ood-deen Mahmood, into Bengal. Hisam-ood-deen was engaged in reducing some refractory Rajas in Eastern Bengal, perhaps the descendants of the dethroned Sen, but he hurried back to the relief of Lokhnoutee, of which the Prince had taken possession. The Prince marched out to meet him, and Hisam-ood-deen was defeated and slain A.H. 624.‡

I have already said that Hisam-ood-deen was probably the first who made Lokhnoutee the capital of Bengal, though the name does not appear on coins until 635 A.H.§ Minhaj says that it was he who made some of the embanked roads now commonly known as Nawabee, or, from a later King, Hosenee Rasta. He led expeditions into Kamroop, Tirhoot, and Juggernath, according to Major Stewart|| and, after his death Altamsh, struck apparently with what he saw of his works at Lokhnoutee, decreed to him the title of Sultan.

Upon the fall of Hisam-ood-deen, the Prince Nasir-ood-deen kept the government of Bengal in his own hands until his death, which Major Stewart dates in 627 A.H.,¶ but of which Mr.

* Page 45, Thomas' Chronicles of Pathan Kings.

† 1224 A.D.

‡ 1226 A.D.

§ Page 15, Thomas' Initial Coinage of Bengal, Part II.

|| Page 58, History of Bengal.

¶ A.D. 1228-9.

Thomas* makes the news reach Delhi in Jamaad-ool-awwal, the fifth month of 626. His tomb at Delhi bears the date A.H. 629.†

As soon as the Prince was dead the chiefs of the Khiljee again assumed an attitude of revolt, and again the Emperor Altamsh marched eastward. This time he entrusted Bengal to that Ala-ood-deen whom he had before made Governor of Behar, but very shortly after Ala-ood-deen was dismissed, and succeeded by Sayaf-ood-deen Aibek, Yooghān Tat, who died A.H. 631.‡

The next Governor was Izz-ood-deen Toghril, Toghan Khan; he pledged his allegiance to the Empress Riziya, the daughter of Altamsh, when she ascended the throne of Delhi, 634 A.H., and it is on a coin of the following year that we first find mention of Loknoutee, spelt without the *h*, as a mint-town.§ During the government of Toghan Khan, in 641, the historian Minhaj-oo-Siraj, visited Lakhnoutee. Toghan Khan overran Tirhoot, and also annexed Kurrah Manikpoor, which I suppose to mean part of the province of Allahabad, to his dominions, and then, in 641, marched against the Raja of Jajpoor, in Orissa, and sustained a disastrous defeat before some place called Ketason. This encouraged the Rajá of Orissa, next year, to besiege him in Gour.

The identity of this place, Jajpoor, is disputed. Stewart says plainly, it was in Orissa. Mr. Thomas|| says that Stewart was mistaken in placing Jajnogor in Orissa, instead of in Tipperah. It appears to me that Major Stewart¶ is speaking of two distinct places, Jajpoor in Orissa and Jajnogor which he believed to be in Tipperah. Professor Blochmann** discusses the question at length, comparing mentions of Jajnogor by different authors, and coming to the conclusion that either there were two Jajnogors, one in south-western Bengal, somewhere between Orissa and Choto Nagpoor, and the other east of Sonargaon, or else that Zia-ool-Baranee, not the most accurate of writers, wrote Sonargaon in mistake for Satgaon, and that there was really only the one in south-western Bengal.

Gour was relieved by forces under Komor-ood-deen Timor Khan Kairau, who ejected Toghan Khan from the government, and ruled Bengal till his death, A.H. 644. He died at Gour, on the same night on which Toghan Khan died in Oudh, and to

* Page 45, *Thron. of Pathan Kings.*

† Page 76, *Journ. As Soc. Bengal* 1870; page 36, *id.* 1873.

‡ A.D. 1233-34.

§ Page 107, *Thomas' Chronicles*

of *Fathan Kings.*

|| Page 121, *Chronicles of Pathan Kings.*

¶ Pages 62 and 72.

** Page 29, *Contributions.*

Oudh his remains were carried and laid close beside those of his rival.

Here Stewart puts the reign of Sayaf-ood-deen Yoognaf Tunt, a slave, lasting for seven years, and ending with his death in 651 A.H.* Mr. Thomas omits this Governor from his list, probably considering him identical with that Sayaf-ood-deen who preceded Toghril Khan.

The next ruler of Bengal was Ikhtiyar-ood-deen Yoozbek Toghril Khan, Governor of Oudh. He invaded Orissa, but was forced to retire with the loss of all his elephants; he then invaded Azmurdun, identified by Stewart with Azmerigunj in Sylhet, and indemnified himself for his previous disaster by winning a large store of treasure and many elephants. Hereupon he took the title of Moghis-ood-deen. His next expedition was into Oudh, where he was again unsuccessful, but hoping to fare better in the east, he crossed the Korotoya into Kamroop, and, as the King thereof retired before him into the hills, he declared himself sovereign of Bengal and Kamroop, and commenced his return march. Then the King of Kamroop swooped down from the hills upon his rear, and utterly discomfited him. He died of his wounds, a prisoner A.H. 656.†

Then came Jalal-ood-deen Masaud Malik Janee, or, as Major Stewart writes it, Khanee. He had some trouble with refractory Rajas in Eastern Bengal, perhaps the Sens again, and, while he was occupied with them, Iza-ood-Moolk Taj-ood-deen Arslan Khan Sanjar Khwarismee, Governor of Kurrah, took possession of Gour. Jalal-ood-deen, on his return from the east, was met by Arslan Khan, defeated and slain, A.H. 657.‡

Between Jalal-ood-deen and Arslan Khan, Mr. Thomas§ places Izz-ood-deen Balban Yuzbegee, whom Stewart omits to mention. Arslan Khan was succeeded by his son, Mahomed Arslan Khan. Tatar Khan, who ruled till his death at Lokhnouttee, A.H. 676.|| He was a very staunch vassal of the Empire, at least after the accession of Balban, 664 A.H.; so long as Nasir-ood-deen was Emperor, and harassed by the Moghuls, the Governor of Bengal, who had succeeded without reference to Delhi, was less attentive.

After Tatar Khan came Moghis-ood-deen Toghril, a slave, appointed to the government by the Emperor Balban, whom Stewart calls Balin. This Toghril, "The Falcon," won much spoil by overrunning Jajnogor, wherever Jajnogor may be, and by means of the wealth thus acquired, felt himself sufficiently powerful to

* 1253 A.D.

† A.D. 1258.

‡ A.D. 1259.

§ Page 8, *Chronicles of Pathan Kings*.

|| A.D. 1277.

defy the Emperor ; the more, that Balban was ill at the time, and Balban's son engaged with the Moghuls. He signally discomfited first Abuktageen who was sent against him, and afterwards a second expedition under one Turmutty. The Emperor Balban then thought it time to look into the matter himself, and on his approach, the Falcon retired to Jajnogor. The Emperor went after him to Sonargaon near Dacca, where he secured the assistance of Dhinuj Roy, a Hindoo chief, and finally surprised the camp of Toghril, who was shot while endeavouring to escape. In this affair the Emperor's eldest son, Mahomed, was killed.

Balban, thinking that the province of Bengal would be safer in the hands of one of his own blood, bestowed the government upon his son, Sultan Boghra Khan Nasir-ood-deen Mahmood, with royal honours, A.H. 681.* Four years later Boghra Khan was summoned to Delhi, and acknowledged heir to the throne, but he soon returned to Bengal, and, when Balban died, Kai Khoosroo, son of that Prince Mahomed who had fallen in Jajnogor, succeeded to the throne of Delhi. This did not please the nobles, who speedily turned out Kai Khoosroo, and brought in a son of Boghra Khan, named Kai Kobad. This suited Sultan Boghra Khan well enough, until he heard that his imperial son was misconducting himself, and leaving all affairs of state to his minister, when he felt it his duty to remonstrate, and so proceeded at the head of an army towards Delhi. Kai Kobad came to meet him at the head of another army, and father and son met on the banks of the Surjoo, in Sarun. The result of this interview was that the son remained in undisturbed possession of the Empire and the father returned to Bengal an independent sovereign, 687 A.H.†. In the next year Kai Kobad was assassinated, and succeeded by a Khiljee, Jalal-ood-deen Firoz, and he, 695, by Rookn-ood-deen Ibrahim, and he, in the same year, by Ala-ood-deen Mahomed Shah. Major Stewart, misled by a blunder of Zia-ool-Baranee, says that in 699 A.H., Boghra Khan acknowledged the supremacy of Delhi, and was recognised Governor of Lohknoutee and the south-west, the government of Eastern Bengal being given to Bahadoor Khan. This portion of Bengal history has been considerably modified by recent research, and it is pretty clear that Baranee mistook the grandson Shihab-ood-deed Boghra Khan, for his grandfather, son of the Emperor Balban.

From coins and inscriptions, we learn that from 691 to 697

* 1282-3 A.D.

† A.D. 1284.

‡ Page 148, Thomas' Chronicles

of Pathan Kings ; page 103, Journal As. Soc. Bengal 1872 ; page 39, Blochmann's Contributions.

A.H. the son of Boghra Khan, Rookn-ood-deen Kai Kaos Shah, was reigning in Bengal, though acknowledging the supremacy of the Emperor Ala-ood-deen.

Kai Kaos Shah was succeeded by his brother Shams-ood-deen Firoz Shah, whose coins, minted both at Lokhnoutee in the west and Sonargaon in the east, and inscriptions,* give dates ranging from 702 to 722. He had a son, Hattim Khan, who was Governor of Behar. Ibn Batuta, as quoted by Mr. Thomas, records that this Firoz Shah was reigning in Western Bengal when Mahomed bin Toghlak revolted against his father the Emperor Toghlak Shah in 721-2 A.H.†

Major Stewart ‡ says that in 717 Bahadoor Khan, ruling in Eastern Bengal, threw off his allegiance; that in 724 the Emperor Toghlak marched against him, made Boghra Khan again King of Bengal, Bhiram Khan Tatar Governor of Sonargaon, and Ahmed Khan, Governor of Tjrhoot. The fact appears to have been that two sons of Firoz Shah, Shihab-ood-deen Boghra, and Bahadoor Khan, were striking coins during the lifetime of their father § and on his father's death Shihab-ood-deen ruled in Lokhnoutee, and Bahadoor in Sonargaon. Bahadoor seems to have espoused the cause of the rebellious Prince Mahomed bin Toghlak, and was himself indeed a rebel against his brother, on whose behalf and upon his own the Emperor Toghlak attacked Bahadoor, and carried him prisoner to Delhi, confirming Boghra, the great grandson, not the son, of Balban, in the kingdom of Bengal. When, in 725, Mahomed bin Toghlak ascended the throne of Delhi, he at once reinstated Bahadoor in Eastern Bengal, with presents and honours. || In 728 Bahadoor's coins acknowledge Mahomed bin Toghlak's supremacy; in 730 he struck them in his own name, which brought the Emperor down upon him; in 733 Mahomed bin Toghlak issued coins in his own name, and sent the stuffed skin of Bahadoor round for the edification of other provincial governors who might be inclined to revolt.

On the death of Boghra Shah, whom we will take to be Shihab-ood-deen, Major Stewart says that the Emperor appointed Kodor Khan to the government of Lokhnoutee. Mr. Thomas ¶ suggests a possibility that this Kodor Khan, who is spoken of by Ibn

* Page 193, Thomas' Chronicles of Pathan Kings; page 41, Blochmann's Contributions.

† A.D. 1321-2.

‡ Page 79, History of Bengal.

§ Page 42, Blochmann's Contributions.

|| Page 206, Thomas' Chronicles of Pathan Kings; page 48, Thomas' Initial Coinage of Bengal, Journal As. Soc. Bengal 1867.

¶ Page 47, Journal As. Soc. Bengal 1867.

Batuta as the last scion of the house of Boghra Khan, and noticed by Ferishta under the original designation of Malik Bidar Khiljee, may be Shihab-ood-deen Boghra, reinstated, as simple Governor, in Lokhnoutee.

In Eastern Bengal, on the death of Bhiram Khan, A.H. 739,* his armour bearer Fakhr-ood-deen usurped the government, calling himself Sultan Sikandar, and when, by the Imperial order, Kodor Khan marched against him from Lakhnoutee, Fakhr-ood-deen induced Kodor Khan's people to murder him, and declared himself King of Bengal, A.H. 741.†

Mr. Thomas ‡ dates the accession of Fakhr-ood-deen Mobarak Shah in 737 A.H., and shows from coins that he was reigning from 741 to 750. In 751 Ikhtiyar-ood-deen Ghazee Shah was reigning. In spite of Fakhr-ood-deen's proclamation of himself, we find, still from coins, that Kodor Khan was succeeded in Western Bengal* by Ala-ood-deen Ali Shah, who struck coins from 741 to 746, and changed the capital from Lokhnoutee to Firozabad, or Porowwa.§ He is said to have been assassinated by his foster brother Ilyas Shah, commonly called Ilyas the pilgrim, or Ilyas the *bhag* smoker.

Major Stewart|| considers Fakhr-ood-deen the first independent King of Bengal, because, as he says :—"The throne of Delhi being "at that period possessed by the weak Muhammad III., no effort "was made to reduce the province to the Imperial authority, "and, as the power of the empire continued to decline, Bengal "remained for many years afterwards an independent and distinct "kingdom."

From the *Riyaz-us-Salatin* Professor Blochmann¶ translates at length the account of these rulers, making Fakhr-ood-deen revolt from Kodor Khan, who is slain by Ala-ood-deen, and then Fakhr-ood-deen and Ala-ood-deen rule at the same time, as we also learn from coins, those of Fakhr-ood-deen Mobarak Shah being struck at Souargaon in the east, and those of Ala-ood-deen at Porowwa. Then Ala-ood-deen is murdered by Ilyas the Pilgrim, and Fakhr-ood-deen is succeeded in Eastern Bengal by Ikhtiyar-ood-deen, who was probably his son. Coins show that Ikhtiyar-ood-deen was reigning in 751 and 753 A.H.** and in 753 Ilyas

* 1338 A.D.

† A.D. 1340-41..

‡ Page 8, *Chronicles of Pathan Kings*; page 52, *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*.

§ Page 264, *ib.*; page 53, *Journal*

As. Soc. Bengal.

|| Page 82, *History of Bengal*.

¶ Page 41, *Contributions*.

** Page 46, *ib.*; pages 263, 266, *Thomas' Chronicle of Pathan Kings*.

Shah first struck coins, so far as we know, at Sonargaon, indicating that in that year he made himself master of the capital of Eastern Bengal.

From this event, and not from the reign of Fakhr-ood-deen, I should date the independence of the Kingdom of Bengal.

From the title of Hajee, it appears that Ilyas Shah had in early life made the pilgrimage to Mecca. He fled from Delhi to escape the consequences of some misdeed, and, according to the *Riyaz*,* when he arrived at Porooowa, his foster brother Ala-ood-deen had made himself master of Western Bengal by murdering Kodor Khan, and had also slain Fakhr-ood-deen, the ruler of Eastern Bengal, though he had not apparently prevented Fakhr-ood-deen's son, Ikhtiyar-ood-deen, from succeeding his father. On his arrival Ilyas the Pilgrim was put in prison, but shortly after, regaining his liberty, he slew Ala-ood-deen, and became king. This was, probably, A.H. 746,† and Ilyas Shah did not subdue Eastern Bengal until seven years later. His first expedition after that was into Jajnagor, where he was successful, and obtained a large fleet of elephants.‡ He next carried his arms as far westward as Benares. This in 754 brought down the Emperor Firoz Shah, marching through Tirhoot and Sarun, and on his approach Ilyas Shah left Porooowa and threw himself into the fort of Ekdala, 22 miles N.N.E., a site I have only recently identified. The name of Ekdala still belongs to a Mouza, but, being uninhabited, is omitted from the maps on small scale. Doctor Buchanan, who visited the place in 1808, describes the remains of fortifications, but does not mention the name. A large tank close by is called *gorh-dighee*, or "the Tank of the Fort."§

There is another Ekdala, in the Rajshahye district, 48 miles east of Maldah, seven miles south of the point where Dinagepoor, Bogra, and Rajshahye meet, but I believe there are no fortifications there, and see no reason to believe it the Ekdala of history. Ekdala was so strong a position owing to the extent of the inundations, that the Emperor was obliged to raise the siege, and in after years seems to have dealt with Ilyas Shah as an independent sovereign, by interchanging presents with him. This Hajee Ilyas is said to have founded Hajeeipoor, opposite Patna, so that north of the Ganges his frontier probably extended

* Page 44, Blochmann's Contributions. Bengal.

† Page 46, ib.

‡ Page 83, Stewart's History of

§ Page 646, Buchanan's Dinagepoor, printed in vol ii, Martin's Eastern India.

to the Gandak, but as inscriptions at Behar show that in 732, 737, 753, 761, 792, and 799, the town of Behar was under Delhi Governors, the frontier of Bengal cannot have extended so far westward along the southern bank of the Ganges. From the nature of his enterprises I gather that Ilyas Shah must have been a man of energy and warlike skill, and from his nickname he seems to have smoked *Bhang*, and this is all we know of him personally.

About 760 or 761,* Ilyas Shah was succeeded by his son Sikandar Shah, who, like his father, was attacked by the Emperor Firoz Shah, who was baffled now, as he had been before, by the strength of Ekdala. I took a rubbing of a beautiful inscription of this king, at Debkot, and another is over the doorway of the Adeena mosque at Poroowa. It is strange that, whereas Mr. Thomas† says that the lowest scale of die execution in the series of Bengal, was exemplified in the reign of Sikandar Shah in his issue of 769 A.H. at Firozabad, or Poroowa, the inscriptions of his reign are the most beautiful. Professor Blochmann‡ says so from rubbings only, I have seen the originals. One of them is signed by the artist, or *katib*, "Ghayas of the golden hand," which seems to show an artistic pride in his work. Major Stewart puts the death of Ilyas Shah in 760, and that of Sikandar Shah in 769. We know, however, from the Adeena inscription, that Sikandar was reigning in the month of Rajab, 770, and Mr. Thomas found his coins of almost every year from 750 to 792, which would indicate that he struck coins during the life time of his father. As to the later coins, I confess that I am disappointed at finding the *Riyaz*, upon which Stewart's history is founded, mistaken, for I attach great authority to the lost Poroowa manuscript which I believe Gholam Hosen used. It may be, however, that the Poroowa record does not cover events which occurred so long before the death of the saint Kootoob, in 851 A.H., and so that the author of the *Riyaz* blundered, for the coins spoken of by Mr. Thomas are not isolated specimens, but exemplify an almost unbroken series.§

From 750 until 758 both father and son struck coins at Poroowa, the royal residence, and for 756, 757, and 758, both were also minting at Sonargaon, so that it was not that the son represented his father at the eastern capital, but, more probably, that Ilyas Shah admitted his son to participation in full regal honours during

* A.D. 1358-59.

† Page 112, *Chronicles of Pathan Kings*.

‡ Page 48, *Contributions*.

§ Page 58, *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, 1867.

his lifetime. After the death of Ilyas Shah, Sikandar's coins were issued from the mint at Poroowa, which was certainly his residence, almost every year up to 792, but he ceased to mint at Sonargaon in 763, and at Muazzamabad, in the same neighbourhood, in 764. We hear nothing more of these eastern mints till 772, when we find the son of Sikandar, Ghayas-ood-deen Azam Shah, minting there till 776. This issue corroborates the story given in the *Riyaz*, that Azam Shah, being obliged by the machinations of his father's wife to flee from Poroowa, gathered his powers in Eastern Bengal, preparatory to an attack upon his father in the western capital. As regards other mints, Sikandar issued coins at Shahr-i-Nau, which Mr. Thomas thinks was near Lakhnoutee, from 780 to 786; and at Satgaon, in Hooghly, from 780 to 788. Azam Shah strikes coins at Satgaon in 790, which looks as if he had invaded that part of his father's dominions first; he mints at Joxotabad, or Lakhnoutee, in the same year and at Firozabad, or Poroowa, in 791, and thenceforward regularly for some years. The probability is that the war between father and son in the vicinity of Poroowa began in 791 and was not concluded until 792. Professor Blochmann * notes that the poet Hafiz, who died in 791, addressed Azam Shah as King of Bengal. This, I think, he might have done while Azam Shah was in possession of Satgaon and the eastern districts, although Sikandar still ruled at Poroowa. In the *Riyaz* it is written how Azam Shah, or Ghayas-ood-deen, as the author calls him, brought a force from Sonargaon to attack his father at Poroowa, and camped at Sonargathi, or Sonarkot. This place may be the "Sunobar-oorf-Raneegunj," shown on the maps on the Tangon, seven miles east of Poroowa; it is on a great embanked road on which are the remains of stone bridges, and near it was a royal residence. The name is written differently in Professor Blochmann's copy of the *Riyaz*, and in one belonging to Ilahee Bokos, which I saw at Maldah. The former spells it Sonargarhi; the latter Sonarkodhi, or Sonargodhi, the *d* being the *o* pronounced like a hard *r*. The next day father and son met on the field of Goalpara, and Sikandar Shah was slain. The name Goalpara is too common to allow of identification; *para* seldom means a village, or forms part of the name of a village; it should be translated "quarter," and is generally applied as "the quarter of the Cowherds," "the quarter of the Skinners," or "the quarter of the Mondol."

Fortunately Doctor Buchanan* has preserved the name of Chatra as the scene of the battle between the Tangon and the Poornabhoba, and there is Chatra to this day, twelve miles east of Maldah, and just in the line by which an army would come from Dacca to Poroowa.

The name of Sikandar is preserved in the village of Sikandara, about half way between Maldah and Chatra, to which the King may have dragged himself to die.

Several anecdotes of Azam Shah are told by Major Stewart,† and especially he is said to have been a fellow student with the saint Kootob, at the feet of Hamid-ood-deen, the saint of Nagore in Beerbhoom. If this is stated on the authority of the Poroowa manuscript, it is probably true. Azam Shah is said to have been treacherously slain by Raja Kanis, after a reign of either seven or sixteen years. His latest coin is dated 799.‡ While these sheets have been passing through the press, I hear that Mr. Bayley has a coin of Azam Shah, dated 812.

Azam Shah was succeeded by his son Sayaf-ood-deen Hamza Shah, whose one coin was minted at Firozabad.

Hamza Shah, after a reign of ten years, which Stewart ends in 785, was followed by his son, Shams-ood-deen, who, as well as his grandfather, is said in the *Riyaz* to have been murdered by the Hindoo Kanis. It is possible, that Raja Kanis, if he was, as Firishta says, an Ameer of the court, may have slain Azam Shah and yet allowed other Mahomedan kings, puppets, to succeed before himself assuming the supreme power.

Respecting Raja Kanis there is very little known. He was a Hindoo; the author of the *Riyaz* calls him Zemindar of Bhetoriya, a tract which Major Stewart in his map, dated 1813, makes to adjoin the estate of Dinagepoor, and to include parts of the modern districts of Maldah, Dinagepoor, and Bogra, and all Rajshahye and Pubna. Doctor Buchanan calls him Gonesh, Hakim of Dynwaj. I have before expressed a belief that this name Dynwaj, represents the first part of the name Dinagepoor. Gonesh might, I think, naturally be expressed by a Persian or Arabic writer as Kanis or Kanas. Doctor Buchanan says, nothing of his being an officer of the court, but says that he attacked Gour and took possession of it, slaying the Governor. Professor Blochmann quotes from Firishta, that though no Mahomedan, he mixed with them and loved them, so much so that some Maho-

* Page 617, vol. II, Martin's Eastern India.

† Page 92, History of Bengal.

‡ A.D. 1396-97; page 50, Blochmann's Contributions.

§ Calcutta Review, October, 1872.

medans testified to his conversion and claimed for him a Mahomedan burial. The *Riyaz* and Doctor Buchanan agree in saying that it was the saint Kootoob of Poroowa, who, in disgust at the manner in which the Hindoo usurper treated the Mahomedans, invoked the aid of Sultan Ibrahim-i-Sharkee,* of Jounpoor. This brought Raja Kanis to terms, and he allowed his son Jetmol, or Jadoo, to become a Mahomedan under the name of Jalal-ood-deen and made over the Government to him. On the death of Ibrahim of Jounpoor he resumed it, and some say that his son, the proselyte, slew him.

Professor Blochmann here ingeniously draws attention to a King named Shihab-ood-deen Abool* Mozaffer Rayazid Shati, whose existence is known from two coins, A.H. 812 and A.H. 816, the latter minted at Poroowa,† and suggests that this must be either Raja Kanis himself, or a puppet sovereign set up by him. The *Riyaz** says that the previous king, Shams-ood-deen, did not belong to the old dynasty, but was an adopted son, and was called Shihab-ood-deen, a name, by the way, which I found assigned to the occupant of an honoured grave near Maidah. The dates of the coins agree with the period of the reign of Ibrahim of Jounpoor, 804 to 844, but not with Stewart, who makes Kanis die A.H. 794. As to Kanis or Gonesh, I think it much more probable that he was an independent chief, emboldened by the weakness of the King of Bengal to attack him, than a rebellious Ameer of the court. Professor Blochmann† quotes from the *Asam Buranji* that from 1414 to 1425 A.D.‡ the Assamese under Chooadangpha conquered North-eastern Bengal as far as the river Korotoya, Jounpoor, in the plenitude of its power, was pressing on the west, and the Raja of Tippera§ on the south-east, so that at no period was the kingdom of Bengal so weak, or such an easy prey. The Shan, Ahom, or Assamese, forcing the Koch westwards before them, down the valley of the Brohmopootra, had probably begun to make their pressure felt some years before, and it is quite possible that the hands of Gonesh were strengthened by hands of the sturdy Koch, or Kosyo, who had come across the Korotoya, and who now hold much of the land in Dinagepoor. Long before Akbar's settlement the Sarkar of Panjara, the northern and central part of Dinagepoor, bordering on the Korotoya, was in the hands of the powerful family which afterwards expanded its possessions into the great Zemindaree, and Gonesh, Hakim of Dynwaj, may have been an ancestor of the

* Page 54, Blochmann's Contribution.

† Page 27, id. ib.

‡ 816-17 to 827-8 A.H.

House of Dinaj, or Dinagepoor. If, however, Stewart is right in calling him Zemindar of Bhetooriya, he refers to a tract where I believe the ancestors of the Puttiya Rajas enjoyed large possessions from an early period.*

Sultan Ibrahim of Jounpoor appears to have made Kanis cede the throne of Bengal to his son Jalal-ood-deen Mahomed Shah, but the father very soon re-occupied it, and from coins† we know that Bayajeed Shah was minting up to 816 A.H., while Mahomed Shah's coinage commences in 818.‡ The author of the *Riyaz* says that this Mahomed Shah removed the capital to Gour,§ but his tomb is, as the *Riyaz* says, at Fbroowa. I have seen the tomb, which is covered with a beautiful dome; Doctor Buchanan|| calls it the tomb of Ghayas-ood-deen, meaning the son of Sikandar, but I think that Gholam Hosen probably inquired carefully into the traditions of his own time, and I find that it is generally called the tomb of Jalal-ood-deen.

The tradition of Doctor Buchanan's time said that the great prevalence of Mahomedanism in Dinagepoor, was owing to the proselytising zeal of this Jalal-ood-deen. Certainly the bulk of the people of that district are outwardly Mahomedans, though preserving in caste customs, and in some of their names, traces of ancient Hindooism. Mr. Blochmann¶ attributes the conversion of Bengal chiefly to the exertions of the numerous Afghan Jageerdars, whom we know to have been very powerful about Ghoraghat in Akbar's time. The only manner in which we can date the conversion, so far as I can see, is that it must have been previous to the great immigration of Koch and the cognate Poliya, to the westward of the Korotoya. These people now form about two-fifths of the agricultural population of Dinagepoor, and had they been within the reach of Mahomedan influence during the period of proselytising fervour, there is no such bigotry about them, as to render it improbable that they would have accepted Islam like their neighbours.

After Jalal-ood-deen came Ahmad Shah, supposed to be his son; Professor Blochmann** puts the beginning of his reign in 834,†† we have only a coin of 836 and no inscriptions. While in press I hear that a coin of Jalal-ood-deen has been shown dated 838. Major Stewart, who erroneously dates his accession in 812, gives

* Page 2, Calcutta Review, January, 1873.

† Page 58, Blochmann's Contributions.

‡ A.D. 1415-16.

§ Page 59, Blochmann's Contributions.

|| Page 648, vol ii, Martin's Eastern India.

¶ Page 12, Contributions.

** Page 60, il.

†† A.D. 1430-31.

him a reign of eighteen years, and says that in his time Ibrahim of Jounpoor again invaded Bengal, but retired in consequence of threats from the Tartar Emperor Shah Rookh, son of Tamerlane, with whom Ahmad Shah seems to have kept up friendly relations. He was murdered, and then comes a restoration of the family of Ilyas Shah, or, as Major Stewart calls it, the Bhanger family, in the person of Nasir-ood-deen Mahmood Shah, who may, however, possibly have reigned for some time as a rival to the grandson of Gonesh.

From coins and inscriptions Professor Blochmann gives him the dates 846, 861, and 863, and since the appearance of the "Contributions," I found at Maldah another inscription, dated 859. During this reign, about A.H. 850, Gour was again made the capital.*

Mahmood was succeeded by his son Barbok Shah, who seems, from an inscription at Tribenee, to have acted as his father's deputy in the districts about Satgaon and Hooghly. A coin gives him the date 873, and two inscriptions which I found, one near Dinagepoor, and the other at Deotalao, between Porowā and Dinagepoor, give the dates 865 and 868.† I hear that another inscription of 865, a few months later than mine, has been found on a stone taken by Mr. Marshman from Gour to Serampore. This king is noted for having introduced Abyssinian and Negro slaves into his service, and promoted them to high offices, to which the fall of his dynasty was eventually due. A manuscript, recently found by Mr. Damant, c.s., in Rungpoor, places the great warrior and saint, Ismail Ghazee, who lies buried at Ghoraghat, in this reign, and not in that of Nosrot Shah. Indeed, Barbok Shah is said to have caused his death. Another celebrated warrior, Khanju Alee, of Jessore, belongs to the same period.

Next comes Yoosof Shah, son of Barbok. Professor Blochmann gives four inscriptions of this Prince, dated 882, 884, and 885, and coins of 883, 884. Since Mr. Blochmann's publication, I found an inscription at Maldah, which, in spite of being clogged with pitch, gives pretty clearly the date 876. According to this, we must shorten Barbok Shah's reign in spite of the histories; I do not think any coins or inscriptions bring him later than 873.‡

From the inscriptions of these reigns we learn a little, a very little, of the mode of administering the affairs of the kingdom. We know that there were divisions called Mohallas, presided over by officers who combined the revenue office of Shikdar with the

* Page 5, Blochmann's Contributions.

† A.D. 1460, 1464.

‡ A.D. 1467-68.

military one of Jungdar. In two of these Mohallas, Jor and Baroor, I think I recognise the Pergunnas of Ajhour in Maldah, and Baroor, in Dinagepoor and Poorneah. Then other officers are called, *mujlis* and *dastoor jamadar*, "wardrobe keeper,"* *Sar-i-lushkar*, and *Wazzer* of Districts.

Beyond these scanty indications, the history of the time is little more than a barren list of Sultans' names. Barbok Shah is several times called a learned man, and a Persian Dictionary, *Sharaf nama-i-Ibrahimee* was dedicated to him; Yoosof Shah, according to Firishta,† was also learned and zealous for the strict observance of the Law of the Prophet.

After Yoosof came a reign said in some histories to have lasted two months, in some not a full day, that of Sikandar Shah, son of Yoosof; he has left neither coin nor inscription.

Next comes Yoosof's brother, Fath Shah. He was reigning A.H. 886‡ and 892§. Most of the inscriptions of his reign are from the neighbourhood of Dacca.

With Fath Shah ends the House of Ilyas Shah, which had ruled over Bengal for a century and a half, or for seven or eight generations, with the exception of the time when the Hindoo Gonesh and his descendants usurped the throne, a period of some thirty years and more.

The Abyssinian eunuchs introduced by Barbok Shah had gradually attained such power that one of them, who is called in the histories, Sultan Shahzada, murdered Fath Shah and seized the throne; in a very few months he in his turn was murdered by another Abyssinian, Sayaf-ood-deen Firoz Shah, to whom the author of the *Riyaz* ascribes several buildings in Gour. From a detached slab I found at Goamaltee Factory, in Gour, dated 894 A.H.|| I imagine that the old mosque at Goamaltee is one of them. I found another inscription of this King in Maldah, of which the date has not yet been read. A coin gives 892¶.

Nasir-ood-deen Mahomed Shah came after Firoz Shah, and Professor Blochmann** thinks that Firishta is right in accepting a statement that he was a son of Fath Shah.

Shams-ood-deen Mozuffer Shah came next; coins and inscriptions giving him the dates 896 and 898. He is said to have been a blood-thirsty monster and was slain by Hoan Shah.

* Page 78, Blochmann's Contributions.

† Page 67, *ib. id.*

‡ A.D. 1482.

§ A.D. 1487.

|| A.D. 1489.

¶ A.D. 1488.

** Page 80, Contributions.

Ala-ood-deen Hosen Shah, son of Sayid Ashraf, Hoseneer, called by Elphinstone and other historians Ala-ood-deen, has been marvellously remembered by the people. I was told in Maldah of a fisherman's ballad about Hosen Shah, the recital of which takes two days, and the roads of Hisam-ood-deen, probably from having been repaired by Hosen Shah, are, with others which he may have constructed, called to this day Hoseneer Rasta. In 899* Hosen Shah struck coins at Fathabad, or Furreedpoor, and thence seems to have advanced upon Gour, for an inscription I found at Maldah dates him to have been reigning on the 10th of the month Zil Kadah, 899. This inscription, curiously enough, is carved by the same hand as that of Mozuffer Shah at Poroowa, dated 898.† After the death of Mozuffer Shah, Hosen appears to have struck coins at Hosenabad, a site which I have not visited, but which may be identical with Hosenabad, a dozen miles east-south-east of Maldah, very near Rennell's Sawaan, on the road from Chatra to the Mohanonda. Major Stewart says‡ that Hosen Shah, for the security of his person, lived at Ekdala, whence he made an annual pilgrimage to the shrines at Poroowa, so that if I could find a place named Hosenabad near Ekdala, I should identify that with the mint.

Mr. Blochmann speaks of twenty-five inscriptions of this reign; I know of at least nine others most of which I have since communicated to him: The latest date known is 925 A.H.§ Mr. Blochmann|| quotes from the *Riyaz* that Hosen Shah came with his father from Toorkistan and settled at Chandpoor in the Barha, or Burdwan district, where he married the daughter of the Kazeer of the place, and eventually became Mozuffer Shah's Wazeer. This Gholam Hosen took from "the little pamphlet," which, I have said, before, I believe to be the lost Poroowa manuscript, and to which I attach a high value. In 901 Hosen Shah sent his son Danyal as ambassador to the Emperor Sikandar Lodee¶ whom he met near Behar. This Prince Danyal built a vault at Monghyr. Professor Blochmann** quotes from the *Riyaz* a passage omitted by Stewart, how Hosen Shah, after reducing the Rajas of districts as far as Orissa, who, I suppose had taken advantage of the state of the kingdom under the Abyssinian Kings to throw off their allegiance, crossed the Korotoya, subdued Kamroop, or Rungpoor, and

* A.D. 1494.

† July 2nd, 1493, page 83, Blochmann's Contributions.

‡ Page 112, History of Bengal.

§ A.D. 1519.

|| Page 334, Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, 1872.

¶ Badaonee, apud Blochmann; page 335, Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, 1872.

** Page 335, ib.

Komota, or Cooch Behar, and returned, leaving Danyal with an army in the conquered country, which Stewart calls Turryana, meaning probably the Terai. In the rains Prince Danyal was attacked by the natives, overpowered, and slain. The date of these operations may be fixed by an inscription I found at Maldah dated 1st Ramazan, 907, recording how Hosen Shah, the conqueror of Kamroop and Komota, in that year, built a college. The date would be 10th March, 1502; and as I imagine that Hosen Shah was then in the pride of his victorious return, before his exultation was damped by the news of his son's reverses and death, the latter probably occurred in the rainy season from June to October, 1502. Major Stewart must be wrong in saying that, it was after the Kamroop campaign that Hosen Shah built a fort on the Gunduk to protect his western frontier, and that he sent Prince Danyal to the Emperor and ceded his western provinces. Danyal's embassy must have preceded the invasion of Kamroop, during which he died, and the fortification of the frontier on the Gunduk must, if it provoked Sikandar Lodee's march eastward, which was checked by that embassy, have been still earlier. The result of the embassy was the cession of Tirhoot, Sarun, and Behar to the Emperor, and I do not think there is any indication of re-conquest before the time of Hosen's son, Nosrot Shah, who is proved by an inscription to have pushed as far westward as Sikundarpur, near Azimgurh, in the North-West Provinces.

Hosen Shah probably consoled himself for the loss of territory in the west by carrying his arms into the east, for, besides the invasion of Kamroop, an inscription 5th June, 1513, from Sonargaon * records that the Wazeer of Muazzamabad was also Governor of Tipoorah, or Tipperah. According to the Rajmala,† the Raja of Tippera, in 1512, took Chittagong and drove out Hosen Shah's garrison, and it may have been this which led the King of Bengal to invade Tipperah, and place it, nominally at least, under the officer who commanded near Dacca.

Hosen Shah was succeeded, some time between 925 and 930, by his son Nosrot Shah, who appears to have issued coins ‡ at Khalifatabad, or Bagherhat, in Jessore, and Fathabad, or Furreed-poor, as early as 922. As Mr. Blochmann says, this indicates either an extraordinary delegation of power, or a successful rebellion, and, as Nosrot Shah styles himself Sultan, I think the latter

* Page 334, *Journaal As. Soc. Bengal*, 1872.

† Page 26, *Blochmann's Contributions*.

‡ Page 89, *Blochmann's Contributions*.

the more likely. Taking the length of Hosen Shah's reign from the histories, Professor Blochmann dates Nosrot Shah's accession in 927. I have added four inscriptions of this reign to those noted by Professor Blochmann, the latest date being 938.* Nosrot Shah had married a daughter of Ibraheem, the last Afghan Emperor, whom Baber slew, and he alternately encouraged the Afghan party, whose power at Delhi was past, and deprecated the vengeance of Baber † for his interference.

Nosrot Shah was murdered by his eunuchs A.H. 939, and was succeeded by his son Firoz Shah, whom an inscription at Kalna on the Bhagirothee ‡ proves to have been reigning on the 1st Ramazan, 939, § and a coin, minted at Hosenabad, gives the same year. He was murdered by his uncle, Mahmood Shah, one of Hosen Shah's eighteen sons, whom a coin, recently presented to the Asiatic Society by Colonel Hyde, proves to have been reigning in 939.

This Mahmood Shah is the King of Bengal with whom Alfonso de Mello, the Portuguese, had dealings, failing in an attempt on Chittagong and subsequently assisting Mahmood against Sher Khan, as recorded by de Barros in "da Asia." || H, inscription at the shrine of the Saint Siraj-ood-deen, outside Gour is dated 941, and a coin gives 943.

At this time, at the Court of Mahmood of Behar, Sher Khan, an Afghan, whose family held the jageers of Sasseram, in Behar, and Tonda, which lay along the south bank of the Ganges, including Rajmahal, was rising into power, and, on the death of his patron Mahmood, filled the principal offices in Behar. By giving shelter to the rebellious Governor of Hajeepoor he drew upon himself the wrath of Mahmood Shah of Bengal, who sent Kootoob, the Governor of Monghyr, against him, only to be defeated by Sher Khan. The young King of Behar, Jalal, then fled to Gour to ask Mahmood Shah to assist him against Sher Khan, which he does not appear to have done. After some fluctuations of fortune, Sher Khan took advantage of the Emperor, Hoomayoon's absence in Goojerat to strengthen himself in Behar so much as to be able thence to invade Bengal and besiege Mahmood in Gour. Before the city was taken he had to return to Behar, but Khoowas Khan, his lieutenant, maintained the blockade so strictly that, owing to the distress in the city, the King escaped to Hajeepoor, where Sher

* A.D. 1531-32.

As. Soc. Bengal 1872.

† Page 115, Stewart's History of Bengal.

§ 29th March 1533.

‡ Blochmann, page 332, Journal

|| Page 90, Blochmann's Contributions.

Shah fought, him and defeated him. He took refuge with the Emperor Hoomayoon, who was besieging Chunar, and when, in 945, Chunar was taken, Hoomayoon advanced upon Bengal. The son of Sher Khan repulsed the advanced body of the Imperial troops at Terriagarhee, but retired before reinforcements brought up by the Emperor in person, who came on to Colgong. Thither Mahmood Shah accompanied him, and there died, and with him, 945 A.H., ended the succession of independent Kings of Bengal.

Professor Blochmann's present work goes no further, though he gives some hope that he will some day return to the subject and discuss the later periods. The next chapter must tell how Sher Shah first becoming King of Bengal, thence mounted to the imperial throne of Hindoostan; how Bengal slipped from the hold of his successors, and how one Governor after another called himself King, until the Emperor Akbar finally reduced Bengal to a province of the Empire.

As we approach more modern times, the sources of information become more numerous. From the time of the successful invasions of Bengal by Firoz Shah till the struggles of Hoomayoon and Sher Shah again united the histories of Northern and Eastern India, the complete severance of the kingdom of Bengal from the Empire of Delhi prevents the historians of the latter from giving us much information respecting the Eastern Kingdom; but from the middle of the sixteenth century we have, as Professor Blochmann* remarks, the works and maps of Portuguese historians, especially de Barros, who died 1570, and of Cæsar Frederick (1570), Ralph Fitch (1583-91), and Ameen Razee (1594). Of de Blaeu's map (1650)* Professor Blochmann gives a plate.

The rent roll drawn up by Todar Mull in 1582 also gives a valuable sketch of what was then, and probably for some time had been, the state of Bengal. It is likely that he received the settlement that seems to have been made by Sher Shah and perhaps Sher Shah had an older settlement to guide him, that under which Mahallas had been managed by Shikdars in Barbok Shah's time. Besides this, it is reasonable to conclude that the writers of the time of Akbar, who directed their attention to the history of Bengal, were able to procure tolerably trustworthy information respecting the two or three generations which immediately preceded their own.

* Respecting the ancient geography of Bengal, Professor Blochmann's notes are as valuable as his historical ones; but it is a subject which would still amply repay further research. It is unfortunate that the want of archaeological knowledge on the part of the

persons entrusted with the selection of names of places for maps on a reduced scale has caused them to omit many most interesting sites, because they are now no longer inhabited. Many of these are, however, to be found on the larger maps, on the scale of one inch to a mile, which show all Mouzas, whether inhabited or not. As instances I may adduce Ekdala, Sikandara, and Hosnabad, which I have already mentioned. Other names no longer exist as towns or Mouzas, but are to be found in Districts, Sarkars, Mahals, or Pergunnas: such are Tanda, Tajpoor, and Delskot, and I believe I have recently identified the kingdom of Pundra-Varddhana, visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hienon Tksang, with the sarkar of Panjra in Dinagepoor, and the ancient zemindaree of Borddhon, which was contiguous to it.* The frequent changes in the courses of rivers, especially of the Ganges, have wiped some places, once well-known, from the face of the earth. From a comparison of Rennell's with later maps, I am quite satisfied that this has been the case with Tanda, once the capital of Bengal. It was a very little way to the west of Gour, due north of Sootee.

A very few places are mentioned in inscriptions, and where they are mentioned we can only guess at their position on the maps, unless we have further evidence respecting them. In this direction we learn much from Todar Mull's rent roll, which, as I have already said, is known to have been rather a statement of the existing revenue demand than the record of a new settlement. The Sarkars, I think, were probably in many instances each an existing estate, or were formed of two or three contiguous estates. The Sarkar of Panjara I know to have been neither more nor less than the estate of the Dinagepoor family. Sarkar Tajpoor probably belonged to the family to different branches of which the Zemindares of Chooramon, Horeepoor, Kholora, and Baheenee, in that Sarkar, now belong. I do not know whether Sasseram and Tanda were estates belonging to Hindoo families, but we find them in existence as a jageer in the hands of Sher Khan's family about 1500 A.D., and the grant of a jageer probably embraced one or more estates which already had a coherent existence as revenue divisions.

I have carried my remarks on the historical portion of Professor Blochmann's work to such a length that I have left no space for a full discussion of his contributions to Bengal geography. The subject is by no means exhausted; additions are constantly being made to our knowledge of it, and I hope some day to return to it.

E. VESEY WESTMACOTT.

* Page 62, *Indian Antiquary*, 1874.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Puruvikrama Nátuka. A Drama in Bengali. Valmiki Press. Calcutta; 1281 B.S.

WHATEVER the condition of our theatres may be, there can be no doubt as to the gradual improvement of the drama amongst us. True, up to this time, we have had no plays that can stand comparison with the higher class plays of the English drama. Whatever dramas have been written, they have been all formed of such elements, and those elements tacked together in such a manner, that we cannot presume to say the play-wright's art flourishes amongst us as yet. But still signs of improvement are discernible. *Puruvikrama* is, we think, an improvement upon its predecessors. The drama consists of five acts, and almost every act is divided into scenes. But the division appears to us somewhat arbitrary—without the equality or the justice, which renders such divisions necessary and proper in a play. At the close of every act, and indeed of every scene, we seem to arrive at a period; and do not retain sufficient concern to feel disposed towards going through the portions following. These are very serious failings in the play. For them the plot has, however, much to make amends; though it has considerably suffered from them. To the plot, therefore, we first attend, before we discuss other particulars connected with the book. The plot is built upon historical facts and the play is an historical play. When Alexander of Macedon appeared on the banks of the Hydaspes, the Panjáb was split up into two parties; one headed by Taxiles and Abissares, conciliating the invader with rich presents; and the other by *Puru* (*Porus*) and *Eilabila*, queen of the Kallu Hills, scouting all idea of submission and determined to resist to the death. But amidst these differences there was one cause of union—a cause very strong indeed to bind Indian princes to a union. All the monarchs had one common interest, one common wish. They were all candidates for the affection of the princess *Eilabila*, and ready to make any sacrifice, however costly, if thereby this interest might be promoted. To them any declaration, any call, from the object of love was dearer than life itself and would be readily responded to. This the princess was conscious of; and so conscious, she announced among the monarchs that she would

join her hands with the hands of him who should display the greatest feats of strength and bravery at that critical hour and succeed in driving the Yavans back beyond the confines of India. Taxiles then began to hesitate; and would very likely have decided against entertaining the enemy in his capital, had not his sister, *Ambalika*, influenced as she had been by offers of marriage from the Macedonian hero, insisted upon the necessity of the reconciliation. On the other side Porus, aided by a few other Rájput princes of equally unflinching resolution, presented a bold front to Alexander; but in the battle which ensued was signally defeated. The conqueror, however, charmed with his heroic virtues and his free and noble demeanour, gave him his freedom on the spot and restored him to his kingdom and his Eilabila, whom he made his queen, to the utter mortification of Ambalika. On Alexander's departure Ambalika rued the hour of her deep-laid conspiracy; and, as an atonement for her past wrongs, brought to a happy close the disagreement between Porus and Eilabila—the result of her plot. The plot is certainly very interesting and well drawn. The different phases of the Rájput character are admirably exhibited. Porus and Eilabila, the hero and the heroine, are very types of a Rájput warrior and his queen. Taxiles and Ambalika present very striking contrasts to Porus and Eilabila. Their weakness, their vacillation, their treachery set off very conspicuously the virtues of constancy and patriotism in the characters of the hero and the heroine. Look at the language, the spirit-stirring words, which Porus uses to infuse animation into the hearts of his soldiers arrayed in the field.

ওঠ! জাগ! বীরগণ! দুর্দাস্ত যবন গণ' গৃহেদগ্ন করেছে প্রবেশ।
 হও সবে এক প্রাণ, মাতৃভূমি কর ত্রাণ, শত্রু দল করহ নিঃশেষ ॥
 বিলম্ব না মতে তার, উলঙ্গিয়ে তলবার, জলন্ত অনল সম চল সবে বুণে।
 বিজয় নিশান দেখে উড়িছে গগনে ॥
 যবনের রক্তে ধরা হোক প্লাবমান, যবনের রক্তে নদী হোক বহমান
 যবন—শোণিত—বৃষ্টি করুক বিমান, তাঁরতের ক্ষেত্র তাহে হোক
 ফলবান।

Again :—

এইবার বীরগণ! কর সবে দৃঢ় পণ, মরণ শরণ কিম্বা স্বধন নিধন,
 যবন নিধন কিম্বা মরণ শরণ, শরির পতন কিম্বা বিভগ্ন সাধন।

It must be understood that we do not mean here to speak any thing about the dramatic effect which these words are calculated to produce. We take them as only illustrative of Porus's character. Again attend to the reply which Eilabila, though love-stricken,

returns to Porus when asked for a kiss in a meeting between them, on a certain day before the battle.

বাঁন, কাজকুমার ! অয়ে যুদ্ধে জয় লাভ করণ, এখন প্রেমাল.পের সময় নয় ।

These words remind us of Marcia's reply to Juba on a similar occasion :—

- I should be grieved, young prince, to think my presence
- Unlent your thoughts and slacken'd them to arms,
- While, warm with slaughter, our victorious foe
- Threatens aloud, and calls you to the field."

Such sentiments well become the ladies of the Rájput race. Besides, Eilabila's conduct in her captivity does great credit to her character. How heroically she remonstrated against the temptations held out by Alexander to her on behalf of Taxiles ; how nobly she answered the threats used to her by the latter ; how constantly she sent her good wishes and prayers to attend Porus on the field ;—all these clearly prove the dauntlessness of her spirit, and the highness of her soul.

Our limits prevent us from commenting on the characters of the other *dramatis personæ*. But we must not forget to mention in conclusion, that the glory of Alexander's character is greatly obscured, if not totally eclipsed, by his connexion with Ambalika and by his consenting to and even participating in her wicked intrigues.

2.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

Indian Snakes. An elementary treatise on Ophiology, with a descriptive catalogue of the snakes found in India and the adjoining countries. By Edward Nicholson, Surgeon, Army Medical Department. Second Edition Madras, Higginbotham and Co. 1874.

THE first edition of Dr. Nicholson's *Snakes* will be known to many of our readers as a little book evidencing a vast deal of enthusiastic research, and as thorough a knowledge of the subject as is possible in the present state of Indian Ophiology. It was, however, sadly deficient in illustrations, and was otherwise imperfect, owing to the fact that the author was stationed in Burma at the time of its publication. The early issue of this second edition in supersession of a small remaining portion of the former edition is only another instance of that remarkable enterprise and public spirit on the part of the publishers, Messrs. Higginbotham and Co., to which the Indian literary world has been so often of late indebted. Capital plates, which reproduce drawings taken by Dr. Nicholson from specimens or dissections, are

now freely scattered through the book; and though we have been recently almost spoiled for the enjoyment of any ophiological drawings except those of the highest merit, by the magnificent illustrations of Dr. Fayer's *Thanatophidia* executed under the direction of Mr. Locke of the Calcutta School of Art, yet we confidently predict that the numerous and excellent plates now given us by Dr. Nicholson will be found of the highest value, both as illustrative of the physiological part, and as aids in the recognition of the principal kinds of snakes.

Dr. Nicholson calls his book an *elementary* treatise; and in so far as it is written in such an amusing style, as to make it full of interest for the general reader, it deserves its name. But it is only fair to Dr. Nicholson that we should note at the same time that, for those who wish to study the subject scientifically, there is no other treatise with which we are acquainted that presents us with an account of the whole science in such a handy and complete form. For the student, the two first parts—on the *physiology* and the *classification*—will be found to afford, in a convenient form and with considerable clearness, the scientific account which he needs. For the unscientific reader, the third part—on the *natural history*—gives a great deal of the most interesting and even amusing information about the life and habits of snakes, both in their wild state and, when domesticated. Probably few of our readers are familiar with domesticated snakes; but Dr. Nicholson shows us that the domestication may be made the source of a good deal of pleasure. We will confess, however, that sometimes we are not quite able to follow our author in his ophiological enthusiasm; as, for instance, when he assures us that “the only inconvenience of having a nine-foot python or hamadryas coiled round one is that he is apt to make a mess on one's clothes.” On the whole, we would rather not make the experiment; and would prefer, if necessary, to believe, on Dr. Nicholson's word without further proof, that all the stories we have so often heard of and read about pythons crushing their prey within their folds, are mere myths. Dr. Nicholson adds—“Neither do snakes lick their crushed prey (‘slaver it over’ is the term used in story and simile) before swallowing it; if the prey is active, after catching it with their teeth, they throw a few folds round it simply to prevent it from struggling, and then bolt it head foremost just as they would a frog.” This account quite confirms us in our determination not to try whether a nine-foot python or hamadryas hurts or not; for the prospect of being bolted head foremost, without the possibility of even struggling, is hardly an attractive one.

If any of our readers wish to make household pets of a few pythons and cobras, this is how the tender creatures should be

taken care of:—"The best habitation for snakes would, doubtless, be a verandah fenced to a sufficient height with wire-gauze; it might be divided into compartments in order to separate snakes of ophiophagous habits from the rest of the community, and be provided with water and shrubs sufficiently to gratify the desire for coolness and shade."

• The directions given by Dr. Nicholson for securely handling and playing with untamed cobras are, we have no doubt, useful and instructive; we have not tested them.

Historical and Statistical Memoir of Dehra Doon. By G. R. C. Williams, B. A., Bengal Civil Service. Roorkee: Printed at the Thomason Civil Engineering College Press. 1874.

WE hail with pleasure the appearance of another of those valuable District Manuals which have been the most important feature of Indian literature during the last four or five years. These *Manuals* have been, with hardly an exception, worthy of the Service which may pride itself on containing the most highly-educated body of officials in the world; and Mr. Williams' *Memoir of the Doon* is a noble companion-volume to such works as Mr. Westland's *Jessore*, Mr. Toynbee's *Orissa*, and Mr. Glazier's *Rungpore*.

Mr. Williams' First Part is descriptive and general; and enters most minutely into the topography of the Dún, its geology, its *Fauna* and *Flora*, its inhabitants and their peculiarities, and, indeed, every other subject coming under the head of either physical or political geography. The Third Part of the *Memoir* is chiefly occupied with fiscal statistics, fiscal history, and similar matters. But it is the Second Part on which most readers will pounce with the greatest interest—containing an historical account of the district from the earliest times to the present. Of course much of this history will appear somewhat parochial to the student of general history; but it should never be forgotten that Indian history mainly consists of such district annals—and, indeed, it is only from the more careful study of such annals that we can ever hope to acquire any real knowledge of Indian history as a whole. Mr. Williams' account of the Garhwál Rájás is most interesting; and the whole of this part will well re-pay the thorough and careful perusal of every student of Indian history and antiquities.

Legal Maxims. Illustrated with special reference to the laws in force in British India. By P. Sreenivasrow. Madras: Higginbotham and Co. 1873.

WE regard this work with interest and satisfaction, not only as a very useful one in itself, but also as a successful

effort in paving the way to a higher standard of legal study; for important and dignified as is the inquiry into questions of right and justice, it must be vain if the student understand not the principles on which such an inquiry should be conducted. Some there are, who staunchly advocate the arbitrariness of positive laws and deny the adaptability of the principles of law governing one kind of society to another far lower in the scale of civilisation, and with manners and habits of life wholly peculiar to themselves. "But the reasons and the principles of the law," says Chitty, "can never change;" and in all political societies, where legislation proceeds upon rational principles, the Legislature is guided in its work by certain established *rules*, the universal applicability of which has been tested by vast and varied experience, and which are recognised as correct in all systems of jurisprudence. This being the fact, allowing due weight to the influence of custom, it is impossible for any jurist not to allow that in a civilised community the arbitrary will of the law-giver is always subservient to the welfare of the public at large. These rules are designated by English lawyers *legal maxims*. They are not mere obsolete Latin phrases referring to by-gone days, but of every-day use and application. They are the original and operative cause of the law. *Ratio legis est anima legis*. "For although," says the learned Coke, "a man may tell the law, yet if he knows not the reason thereof, he shall soon forget his superficial knowledge. But when he findeth the right reason of the law, and so bringeth it to its natural reason that he comprehendeth it as his own, this will not only serve him for the understanding of any particular case, but of many others; and this knowledge will always remain with him." The want of a treatise explaining these maxims has long been felt and deplored by Indian students; and the work before us has remarkably filled a serious chasm in our legal literature. True, we had the admirable works of Broom and Wharton as our guide on this subject, but their illustrations are drawn from the peculiar rules of English law, many of which have nothing whatever to do with India; whereas this is the first attempt, and an able one, to illustrate these *maxims* with special reference to the laws now in force in this country. "This is a consideration," says our author, "which induced me to take up a work, which in its scope, at all events, is calculated to impress upon the minds of Indian students of law, the grand principles of our system of jurisprudence, and thereby to facilitate their labours in understanding the law in all its various branches, together with the reason which, in fact, is the *soul* of the law."

In this book the reader will find the substantive portions of Indian law brought to bear upon the maxims which they illustrate

—gathered from the rules of Hindu and Muhammadan law, the Statutes of Parliament, the Regulations and Acts of the Indian Legislature, and the reported Judgments of the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council, and of the Superior Courts in India. The system of codification which is being attempted now-a-days by the Indian Legislature, and which is meeting with such signal success in its operation, and the consolidating Acts passed by the Hon'ble Mr. Maine and the Hon'ble Mr. Stephen, have tended much to simplify the undigested mass of conflicting case-law which long ruled our courts. This has materially assisted our author in his somewhat arduous task. Besides citing the particular sections which embody particular maxims, he has given us ample quotations from authoritative text-writers on English law, sometimes to supply their deficiencies, and at others to explain the abstruse rules of law contained in the Acts themselves. In this way three hundred of the most important Legal Maxims are illustrated; but, as the author says, all these are subservient to the three following grand and fundamental axioms, namely :

I.—*Juris præcepta sunt hæc, honeste vivere, alterum non ledere, suum cuique tribuere.*

II.—*Fiat Justitia ruat cælum.*

III.—*Nulli differremus Justitiam.*

The most interesting part of the book—one that well repays perusal—is our author's refutation of the erroneous notion prevalent among Englishmen, that Indians are generally given to mendacity, and that even the ancient Hindu law allows it in plain terms:

With reference to the veracity of Indian witnesses, he quotes the observations made by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Phear in an address which he delivered to the Bethune Society in 1866. The following is an extract:—

"The witnesses that come into court have no idea of giving evidence in our English sense of the word. They come there honestly to support that side which they believe to be true. They come to state what is the story which they have learnt to believe, and when they give utterance to representations, which, to our English ears, look as if they had intended to say, that they had seen this, that they had perceived that, they are not mendacious. They do not mean to deceive you; they are simply intending to vouch that story which they believe honestly to be true, and which they believe they have been summoned to the court to vouch. The admirers of existing systems, who think that everything is perfect, very easily find excuses for deficiencies which are not easily remedied. And one of the very first that is put forward—one that I have

heard so often and often that I am doubtful how I ought to answer it—is that the testimony of witnesses throughout this country, and the evidence even of documents, is from the circumstances of the people so untrustworthy that the ordinary rules for judging matters of fact are not to be followed, but that the most eccentric routes to a conclusion which can be devised are preferable thereto. Gentlemen, I do not share that belief. My short experience on the Original side of the High Court has led me to the conclusion that the intrinsic value of oral testimony in this country is pretty much the same as it is in England."

These remarks coming from a judge renowned for his learning and his acute observation ought to carry the very greatest weight of authority with them. Let us see what Mr. Sreenivasaw says in support of his other thesis.

"But a belief is pretty widely prevalent that the Hindu Code allows a lie to be told." This is not in principle true. That Code is as forcible as any other in deprecating the vice of lying, and in inculcating the virtue of truth. Menu says: "Headlong in utter darkness shall the impious wretch tumble into Hell, who being interrogated in a judicial inquiry answers questions falsely." And "by truth is a witness cleared from sin, by truth is justice advanced; truth must therefore be spoken by witnesses of every class." (Menu, Ch. viii. 83.) It is no secret, however, that the Hindu Code makes an exception to the rule in cases where one is obliged to speak the untruth from pious motives. But this privilege is restricted to a very few and most exceptional cases, so that one that fairly interprets and scrutinises the passages in Menu, will feel convinced that the relaxation of the general rule of veracity in those extremely limited instances is not calculated to lead to the production of any evil in point of morals; and that after all, the exceptions spoken of by Menu, are mostly affecting those puzzles in morals which have long been the subject of great discussion among the moralists even of the Western School. Moreover, it must be remarked, that Menu does not say that a divergence from truth, even in such restricted cases, is a virtue; but, on the contrary, the sage declares, "You will thereby commit a sin, no doubt, but it is a venial sin, produced by the utterances of a benevolent falsehood" (Menu, Ch. viii. 106) and then the sage proceeds to lay down rules for expiating the sin thus committed.

Such are the sober arguments which he brings forwards to effect his purpose. The first question still seems to allow room for difference of opinion; but the second one, which has been mooted since the days of Sir William Jones, scarcely leaves any even the slightest margin. We know not what impression this reasoning of our author will produce in the minds of his readers, but for our own part we need scarcely say that we are quite satisfied.

On the whole, the book under notice is complete in itself. True, the author does not bring with him the recommendation of any of the Inns of Court; but the amount of learning which he has displayed; the excellent order of his arrangement, and the clearness with which he has explained the maxims, without the least tincture of that unmeaning pedantry which disfigures the works of many English text-writers, would do credit to any Advocate from Lincoln's Inn to the Temple.
